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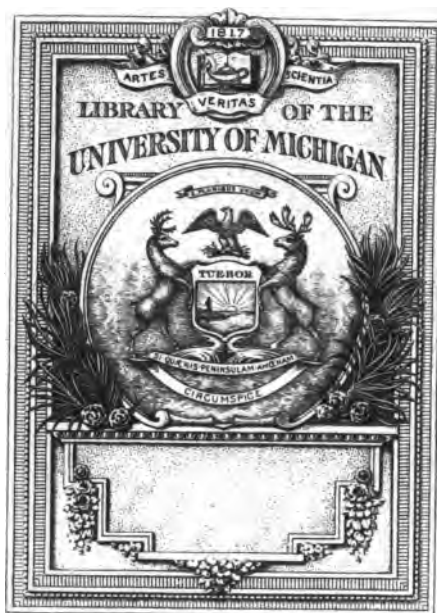
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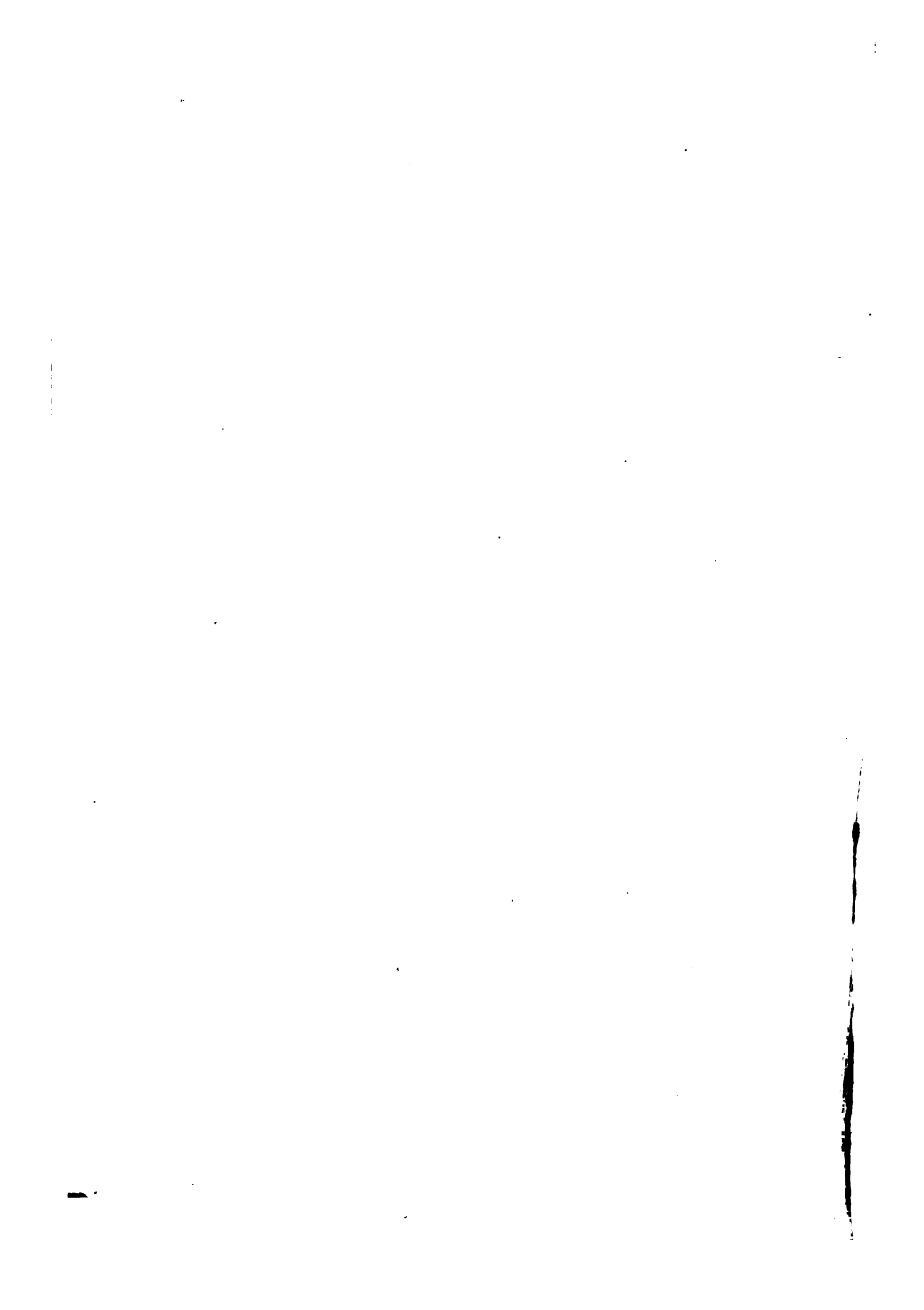
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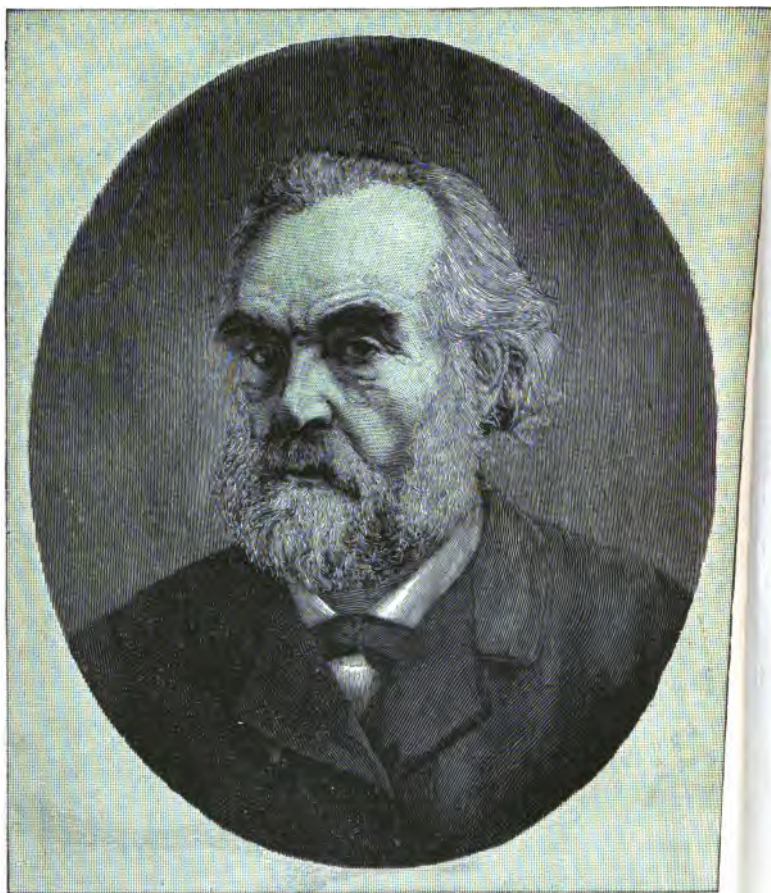
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From Harper's Magazine

M. GODIN,
FONDATEUR DU FAMILISTÈRE, GUISE, FRANCE, AND AUTHOR OF
"SOLUTIONS SOCIALES."

SOCIAL SOLUTIONS

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BY

Jean B. A.
M. GODIN

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY

MARIE HOWLAND

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE reader of this book must bear constantly in mind the fact that it was written by M. Godin in 1870—ten years before the legal association under the title *Godin & Co.* was incorporated. Yet, practically, his workmen were partners from the building of the Familistère Palaces, for they have received a share of the profits of the great iron industry proportional to the amount earned in wages or salary. These profits were not paid in currency, but in certificates of deposit; and so incredulous were some of the workmen that they did not call at the office for their certificates until long afterward, when experience had taught them their value. Now every workman's wife has a special place for the safe box in which these are deposited, and she shows them to visitors with great pride, knowing that they are the unimpeachable witnesses to the fact of the gradual transfer of the whole plant of the Familistère Association from the great capitalist who founded the institution, to the hands of those who are doing the work in the factories, or performing the various functions of the associated home.

It has been the marvel of my life that so great a work as that of the Familistère, one so fraught with significance to the labor reformer—to every one capable of comprehending the first principles of sociology—should have remained so long comparatively unknown, or without a world-wide fame. It is true, as M. Godin says, that he has not sought outside recognition. It is equally true that the great light at Guise can no longer hide itself “under a bushel.” All over the world the cry comes: “What can we do to be saved?” Theories of morality are being shaken from their foundations, and, though no one recognizes it yet, this revolution is largely due to the works of Godin, for not only has he been building palaces for the people, but his able pen has been busy also, and the seeds of the new doctrines which he has translated into facts have found their way into fertile soil. They may

germinate slowly ; they will surely grow and bear fruit after their kind.

One of the radical doctrines of M. Godin is that the great capitalist has no moral right to use his fortune for personal aggrandizement, whether he inherited it from others or built it up himself through industrial enterprise. The fact remains the same, that it has been all created—every particle of it—by labor ; by the expenditure of Human Life, the one thing precious on the earth. Hence justice demands that it be used for the development, the progress of Human Life.

Moreover, *M. Godin has shown practically that it pays the capitalist, in a pecuniary sense, even, to organize industries associatively ; to build palaces for the workers ; to organize education on a scientific, liberal scale for every child from birth to industrial apprenticeship ; in a word, to place "the equivalents of wealth" at the door of all industrious people. He has demonstrated this practically, through an experience of over twenty-five years, and the great capitalists of the world imperil their safety by ignoring that demonstration. The people blindly feel that they do all the hard work and remain poor ; that somehow great injustice is being done to them. The problem of the hour is : How shall the contest between labor and the capitalist be solved ? Is it not, indeed, almost too late to hope for a peaceable solution ?*

That a man has not a moral right to do what he pleases with his "own" is to-day as radical a doctrine as was that promulgated a century ago and more, that the true sovereignty rests in the body of the people, and not in any "divine right" inherited by kings.

The law expresses this radical doctrine, in some of our cities, through boards of health, which are empowered to prevent the renting of cellars and tenements which are unfit for human beings to inhabit. Godin has nobly exemplified that doctrine by using his vast fortune for the welfare of the people ; or, as he might express it in English : Wealth represents the expenditure of Human Life. The debt must be acknowledged by institutions for the "Support, the Progress, the Harmony of Human Life."

MARIE HOWLAND.

CASA TONTI, October 20, 1886.

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TO THE READER.

At the time I had completed the writing of this book, nothing foretold the political events that have since taken place. In delivering the manuscript to the printer, in June, 1870, I hoped that I was giving to my country a preservative against the tempest which I saw darkening the social horizon ; I did not think that the work would not appear until after such a terrible storm.

But a foreign invasion and the siege of Paris stopped the printing of the book, and suspended the work of the engravers ; a civil war, in its turn, retarded the publication, and it was not until the social question was presented in the midst of the most inextricable difficulties that my book appeared.

Its contents, therefore, were not inspired by events accomplished ; this will explain why certain pages do not appear in accord with these events.

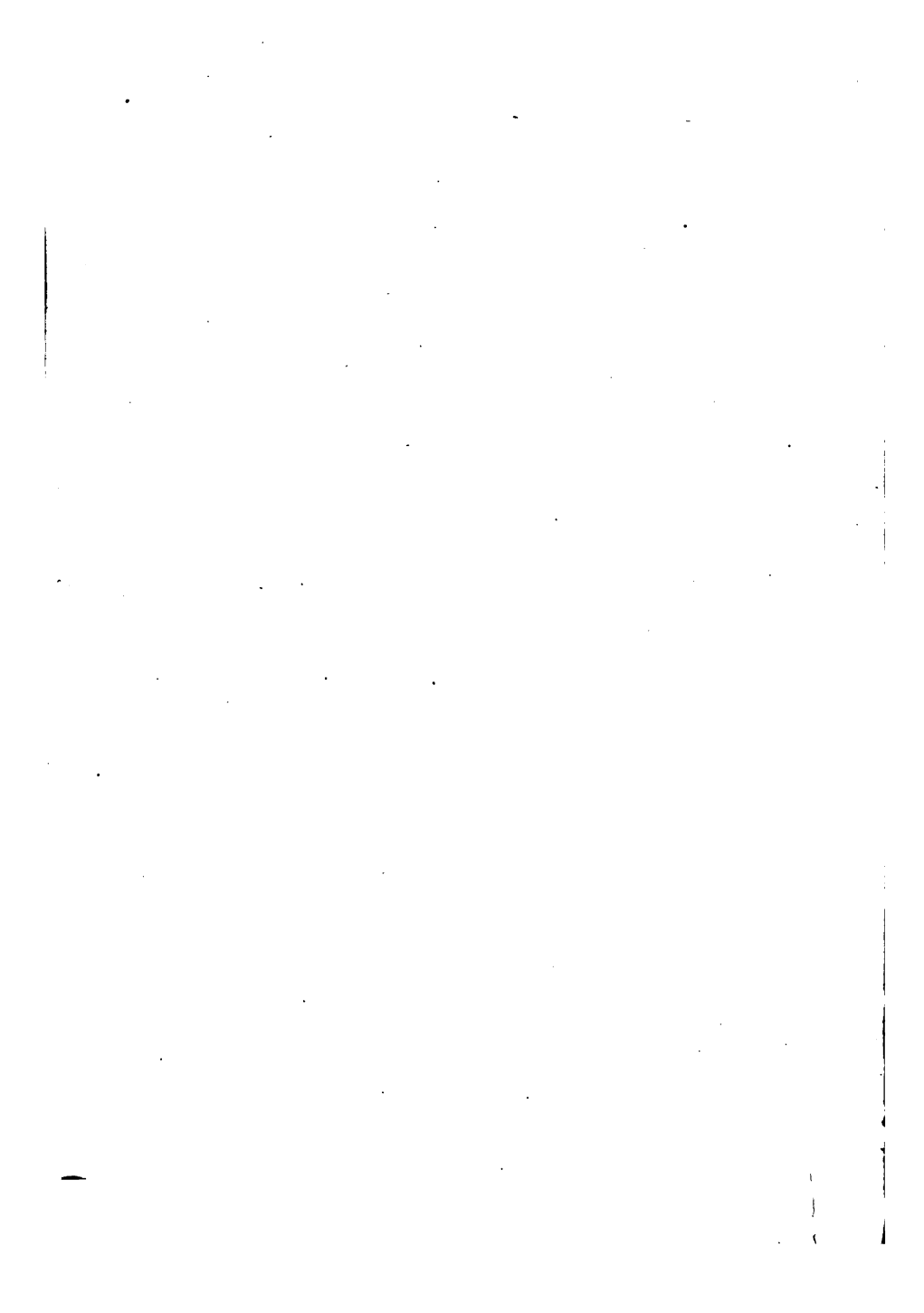
If to-day I had the work to rewrite, I would not change anything materially, but I might modify the form so as to make it more in harmony with the present political and social condition of France.

Nevertheless, I offer this volume with confidence to the consideration of my country, and with the most ardent prayer that the social solutions which it encloses may aid in dissipating those troubles of conscience which for a long time have made the private as well as the public life of almost everyone but a tissue of expedients whose justification is sought for in success.

Our society needs to strengthen itself in a new and sure course, in which the efforts of each and all may be truly profitable to the general welfare ; that course can be no other than that universally admitted now, the conciliation of interests. This book is devoted to the practical means of this conciliation.

May my compatriots use my work for the good of our beloved country, that it may be forever preserved from a return of the evils of civil war. That this prayer may be answered, is the dearest wish of my heart.

VERSAILLES, May 8, 1871.



SOCIAL SOLUTIONS.

Part First.

CHAPTER I.

PROLOGUE.

I. INCUBATION OF SOCIAL IDEAS.

IN the midst of trammels imposed upon thought, France collects her senses. By the side of ephemeral movements sacrificing the present to the gain of the few, devotion to social science is preparing the future for grander movements comprehending the good of humanity.

Neither the lust of gain, the vanities of the world, nor the passion for authority can make France forget her mission of civilization. These passions may lower the ideal of public morals, may trouble the conscience, but they cannot rob from the heart of France her love of liberty and progress. Twenty years of oppression have deepened hatred of arbitrary power, and stimulated men to the work of elaborating moral social relations—the true morality of humanity.

A modest work, but immense in the midst of the tasks imposed on France at this hour, for it is the social regeneration of mankind that the nation fosters in her heart. This book is but one of the thousand symptoms of this regeneration. May it aid the peaceful solution of the questions of our day, and the development of the sentiment of true justice in the minds of the people.

This is not a literary work. Written in the midst of daily and hourly industrial occupations, by a man whose life has been passed in the field or the manufactory, it will not exhibit those graces of style which may be expected from a careful

education and the constant use of the pen ; but though the art of expression may not be acquired by intercourse with the laborer in the field or in the workshop, there at least may be studied those questions that touch the fate of the masses—the social questions of our time. It is there that those burning truths appear which claim the attention of all who love social progress.

To explain these truths will be the object of this work, which will doubtless betray the effects of the many interruptions during its preparation. I therefore beg the reader to be indulgent as to the form, paying close attention to the solutions that the work will attempt, without stopping to criticise the author's style, which will doubtless be often less clear than he could wish.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL IDEAS.

In the first half of this century, ideas of social reform, intimately connected with social morality, were confined to treatises upon the subject, and to written and oral discussion. This is the natural order of human things : hypothesis, discussion, speculative theories precede action. But it is nevertheless true that practicable theories are to be deduced from experience and from facts alone ; and this book will conduct the reader to the practical ground of social economy and social morals in practice. It is a new answer to the reproaches that some of my friends have addressed to me.

"Why," they say, "do you keep silent upon the social propositions that you have practically demonstrated?"

"Why do you not give the world the benefit of your experience?"

"It is your duty to make these results known. You do not belong to yourself now, but to society."

Thus do they talk who have only to observe and to criticise. It is so simple a thing to demand more from one who has done much. A work done seems so easy !

To these I have replied that, when engaged in the practical demonstration of principles, it was useless to seek publicity before facts have spoken.

Is it not better to wait and realize a practical result, while studying the lessons of experience, than to aspire to be known at once by projects of reforms or of institutions which often result in empty words or unfruitful experiments?

It appeared to me wiser to act than to talk. In this line of

- conduct I saw the accomplishment of a double duty : first, to not occupy the people uselessly with ideas that experience might condemn ; and, second, to entertain them with truth upon which facts have pronounced a judgment that posterity must sanction.

This is, then, the principal reason why I have meditated, and acted silently, and why I have long resisted the solicitations of my friends. In silence I had the advantage of not exciting opposition to new ideas, of avoiding newspaper gossip ; and in a semi-quiet I have succeeded in constructing and developing a work which in its infancy this opposition might have strangled.

To-day there is no need for this silence. Founder of a work which I desire others to imitate, I ought to explain to the world the ideas which presided at its foundation. This work is sufficiently important in itself to make it imprudent for anyone to attack it, imprudent even to not protect it at least in appearance ; I can therefore take advantage of this situation, and explain the facts and ideas which led to the foundation of the *Familistère*, to its development and its success.

I can and I ought to-day to brave the obstacles that ignorance and human weakness throw in the way of reform, and go straight to the sympathy that I am sure to find among all friends of progress. These will understand that my enterprise is due neither to fortuitous circumstances, to a vain caprice, nor to a selfish material interest—as many narrow-minded persons have thought—but to well-digested convictions and principles whose object is the good of humanity.

This work will not follow beaten tracks. Its object is to show a utopia of yesterday realized to-day ; consequently it deals with new facts, not only in their results, but also through the principles that produce them.

The problem is not how to construct the future upon the ruins of the past ; but to demonstrate how it is now in our power to create prosperity for those deprived of the necessities of life without robbing anything from those who are rich. It will be shown what labor can accomplish toward this end, without any other aid than its own strength and its faith in principle. Relying on these facts, the teachings of this book appear, and as the tree may be judged by its fruit, these teachings must be judged by their practical results.

But as every new work must encounter the resistance of the habits and prejudices that it assails, as the history of all times reveals the new idea undergoing persecution, so the

principles here treated have been put in practice in the midst of the most disheartening obstacles ; and this should not be a slight proof of their soundness.

Despite these obstacles, I have been able to erect the first palace to labor—the *Social Palace*, and to prepare the necessary conditions for integral association among men. I have succeeded in collecting the elements necessary to work out the problem of the equitable distribution of the fruits of production between labor, skill, and capital.

This is the practical work that I have to explain to the reader—a work commenced and finished by labor alone, a work in which several millions are to-day invested, which owes nothing to old institutions ; and yet, upon which the justice of the courts has opened the doors, as upon a common, to the enemies of progress, who place obstacles in my way, while they come and ask a share of the fruits to which they have earned no right. But this is the fate of new ideas and the rôle of social justice at present.

Integral association is organized. Its ranks are open ; its functions established. The well-being of nine hundred ¹ people has proved for a long time its happy effects ; and as soon as ignorance and malice cease their opposition, the union of labor, capital, and skill will be a fact accomplished."

[¹ This was written before 1870. The population has more than doubled at the present time.—TRANSLATOR.]

[² The association was incorporated legally under the title, "Godin & Co.," in 1879. To day it is still in the most prosperous condition.—TRANSLATOR.]

CHAPTER II.

PRESENTIMENTS.

I. MY CHILDHOOD.

THE memory of a certain incident in my childhood has always accompanied me, and I think I ought to mention it, if not as being the cause of putting into practice the ideas contained here, at least as a psychological study.

When I was about eight or ten years old, sitting on a bench in the village school-house, where some hundred and forty children were crowded together in a stifling atmosphere, idling away their time or submitting to the master's ferule instead of receiving regular and profitable instruction, I used to ponder upon the insufficient and imperfect methods of the teaching applied to us.

I said to myself often : " If I were a teacher, I would teach children better than they do here," and then I wondered if I ought to qualify myself to teach. Following this there always came another thought, the result of a deeper sentiment : no, I would apprentice myself to the manual arts, for through them I could give a great example to the world in the sphere where I should be called to act.

This persistent idea at that early age is at least singular, especially when taken in connection with the fact that I was excessively timid then, and my frail and delicate organization presented painful difficulties to my executing the kinds of work that I daily witnessed.

Despite all this, inspired by the belief that the practice of the manual arts would lead me to the rôle I wished to play, at the age of eleven years and a half I commenced working iron in my father's workshop, and besides this I labored in the field with the other members of the family, taking a part far above my strength.

How happened it that such an object should be cherished in the heart of so young a person, before whom no prospect

opened, and for whom everything seemed confined in a circle of poverty and labor?

I take the liberty of putting this query to my reader because I have often wondered over it myself—because it is an interesting psychological question, renewed in all the phases of my life.

To-day, even, I foresee events that I shall take care to not indicate; not because I believe in fatality—far from it; on the contrary, I believe that events are everywhere and always subordinated to the action of intelligence. But this is not the place to explain the phenomenon of intuition; and I only speak of it because it belongs to the causes that led to the foundation that I have laid. The explanation will come later.

II. MY LIFE AS A LABORER.

When I left my father's workshop, a simple village artisan, to seek in cities the means for a more advanced study of industry, I thought that there I should find labor hand in hand with science; that every workman developed his skill under the influence of regular theories, and that labor was accomplished not less from the study of principles than from the practice of them.

With such ideas I mixed with the working masses in cities, and with societies of working-men, where I expected to see everywhere the evidences of superiority in intelligence and in capacity. It took a certain time to dissipate these illusions.

Every day was but a repetition of a routine of hard labor that kept me in the workshop from five o'clock in the morning until eight in the evening.

I saw unveiled the wretchedness of the working-man's condition, and in the midst of the discouragements that I then suffered, and notwithstanding the want of confidence in myself, I said again: If I ever raise myself above this condition, I will try to find the way to render the laborer's life more endurable and agreeable, and to raise labor from its degradation.

Certainly these aspirations were not less singular than those I experienced on the bench of the village school, since there was still nothing before me but the prospect of poverty! They would almost seem to denote a character subject to vain ambition; and yet I have always had the greatest distaste for personal notoriety.

I was then much occupied with the condition of wages, and

I saw no rule of equity in the distribution of the fruits of labor. Supply and demand, the inexorable and heartless law of commerce, often gave me, when I had accomplished a work that procured the master exaggerated profits, wages that barely sufficed for the necessities of life, and at other times higher wages for labor affording little profit to the employer.

I believed in justice, but I nowhere saw it exemplified. Was humanity, then, condemned to dream forever of justice and right, without ever being able to make a rational application of them?

After many years of toil, during which such reflections were constant with me, I acquired sufficient confidence in myself to commence an industry alone and unaided.

I will not say anything further upon my presentiments. I have explained the motive which induced me to allude to them here, and that will suffice to show the chain that binds me to the work of social progress, to which my life is, and will continue to be, consecrated.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKSHOP.

I. WAGES.

DURING my life as a day laborer, I sought in vain among facts for the law of right, of duty, and of justice, and in my readings I was no more successful. Neither had taught me anything beyond what I had gathered from my own sentiments.

I commenced the foundation of a new industry. I undertook the replacing of sheet-iron stoves with those of cast iron. From a laborer I became an employer. Soon I had to engage certain workmen, whose number gradually increased as the enterprise developed.

In creating for myself a home, a proper existence, I found the means and the conditions for the study of the social questions which were then seriously agitated; and I became familiar with the progress of thought which my life as a laborer had up to that time rendered hardly accessible.

I soon perceived that the problems presented to my mind, the questions of labor and of capital, were subjects treated by different schools of reform, and to these the attention of society was being attracted.

I found then that the long-sought principle of justice, the problem of the equitable distribution of the fruits of labor, was to be realized in association; but the difficulty was in the application. The social conditions were not ready.

The French Revolution had indeed done away with corporations, and sapped the foundation of privileges; but it had not destroyed the influence of traditions, nor created a public opinion capable of placing authority and leadership in the hands of skill and intelligence.

In its ignorance of ways and means of organizing social justice, society still continued to place authority and leadership as prestige and hereditary succession dictated; and after

having sapped the foundation of an aristocracy based on the gains of servile labor, it proceeded gradually to establish another aristocracy based upon the wages system. Capacity and intelligence were relegated to the second rank, and wages was all that labor received.

I could do nothing against the force of habit. Had I wished to practice a new and more equitable method of distributing the profits between my workmen and myself, it would have been unavailing. A grain of sand thrown into the ocean does not change its bed.

Industry dragged itself along over the ruins of a past age of servitude, reconstituting, for the benefit of the master, arbitrary privileges analogous to those of the feudal lord over his vassals.

The weeds of the past flourished continually upon the ground which was broken up by the Revolution, but not bettered by new principles that would have made the soil fruitful for coming years.

Feudal principles still retained their empire in social relations, and in the minds of those even for whom their transformation was of the most vital importance.

The ignorance of the people led them, after they had thrown off the yoke of servitude, to place labor under arbitrary conditions. They had not risen to the comprehension of the science of right, still less to the understanding of the forms necessary for its application.

II. DAY LABOR.

Few men understand how far behind the times modern industry is in its relation to the laborer. It is not regulated by any principle of organization, and the simplest questions up to this time have been great problems.

It is truly sad to see the time that it has required to modify the most absurd customs. How many strikes, quarrels, lawsuits, might have been avoided, without touching the question of principles, by simple measures satisfying workmen and rendering the management of industries more easy.

Not being able to attack more serious problems, I set myself to work, as soon as my business was established, to rid my workshops of certain evils which then everywhere in France were continually the subject of contests between employer and workman.

One of these evils was the want of uniformity as to the time constituting a day's labor.

The unit of time was generally the day; the fractions being the quarter of a day in certain towns, the third in others. In some great cities, and in a few workshops, a day's work was eleven hours; in others, twelve and thirteen.

In Paris the working-day was divided into three parts:

From 6 A.M. to 9 A.M.=3 hours.

From 10 A.M. to 2 P.M.=4 hours.

From 3 P.M. to 7 P.M.=4 hours.

There were during the day two meals, taking each an hour. The morning third of the day was an hour shorter than the other two, the result of a strike which reduced the day by an hour. This morning division of work costing the same as the other two, employers were interested in exacting rigorously the presence of their workmen at the opening of the workshops, refusing entrance to the tardy, or imposing a fine, to secure the maintenance of the rule.

The workman, on his side, found it hard to be denied his full wages because of a minute or two of absence. This was a source of conflict and a permanent cause of ill-feeling on the part both of employer and employed. As the late workmen would frequently refuse to submit to the fine, the machinery or tools would often lie idle while they lost their time during the third of the day, or made their idleness the excuse for passing the time in drinking-saloons.

In the other great cities, the workday of twelve hours commenced at five in the morning, and was divided into three equal parts.

In the country, where the day was of twelve or thirteen hours, counted by quarters, it was thus divided:

From 5 A.M. to 8 A.M.=3 hours.

From 9 A.M. to 12 M.=3 hours.

From 1 P.M. to 4 P.M.=3 hours.

From 5 P.M. to 8 P.M.=3 hours.

This division gave three rests; and in those places where the nine and the four o'clock meals were allowed only a half hour each, there were thirteen hours for labor.

I have known workshops where the thirteen hours were obtained by suppressing the four o'clock meal; but this made a stretch of seven hours' work in the afternoon, and the laborer then went to his supper exhausted by fatigue and hunger.

It is easy to understand how many botherations this manner of counting the day in thirds and quarters occasioned. It was simply servitude by short terms ; not exacting the ownership of the person it is true, but of his acts and his time, which the eye of the master regarded as his own property.

III. WORK BY THE HOUR AND BY THE PIECE.

These traces of servitude still manifested in modern labor I determined to obliterate as far as possible in my establishment ; but not being able to completely reform the mode of labor based on the payment of time, I took the shortest unit of time practicable, the hour, as the base of my accounts with my workmen.

There was no question of days, or thirds or quarters of a day, in paying the workman, but simply of the number of hours he had labored. This system soon obtained generally in industry, through the pressure of conflicts renewed daily between workmen and employers.

Thus a double question is settled : the workman is less under subjection to the employer ; and those strikes for a diminution of time so often occurring in cities, and in certain manufactories, have ceased altogether. Far from finding his interest in a reduction of the hours of labor, the workman, on the contrary, too often asks that they be increased.

Still, though labor by the hour is an improvement upon the old régime of the workshop, work executed upon time at a given rate is none the less humiliating to the workman. The watch kept over him is a restraint upon his liberty ; and he is at least a slave to his conscience and his honesty, if not to the eye of the overseer. The machinery must be kept going because of the cost of running it. The workman's time enters into the cost of production, which must be made to pay, notwithstanding the wear and tear of laborers.

Remuneration by the hour does not obviate all the inconveniences of working by the day. The thing to do is to give the workman complete independence in his work—that is to say, his liberty. To do this it is absolutely necessary to do away with the supervision of one individual over another. Supervision should not be exercised over man, but over matter—that is, over the product of labor.

Instead, then, of putting a price on the laborer's time, it should be put on the articles produced. When once this price

is fixed and accepted, the workman, so far as his labor is concerned, is accountable to no one but himself. He no longer fears the just or unjust censure of the overseer in regard to the employment of his time. He is free—master in his turn. He prepares and fashions the material, his activity having no measure but his own will; and he has the satisfaction of realizing from labor, exempt from the conditions of servitude, wages proportionate to his skill and activity. He has no other responsibility than that useful industry which he owes to nature and to society.

His health and his interest are the only guides to the amount of repose he shall take, or the diligence he shall exert. If by skill or diligence he can shorten his work, he has the satisfaction of profiting by it. If he takes more time for rest than is necessary, no one reproves him, and he injures nobody but himself.

Thus the workman regains his dignity. He is the master of his time. Neither his person nor his movements are subjected to a degrading supervision. The work done is ascertained, and by this the accounts are regulated.

The organization of labor in great cities tends to the establishment of this system. It is easier there than in small workshops to classify the different kinds of work, and to fix the value upon each.

Work executed by a scale of prices agreed upon is certainly a step toward the rational organization of labor and the independence of the laborer. Doubtless many will make mistakes, but experience will show that the freedom of the workingman will be greater as the principle of working by the piece extends; but, above all, this mode of organization will be one of the principles upon which true liberty will enter into the facts of life.

Some day, when industry, still better organized, guarantees to the laborer the benefit of the increased value of the fruits of labor, then justice will be secured; and, hand in hand with liberty and true right, will continue its onward march in harmony with the duties of the citizen.

IV. PAYMENT OF WAGES.

Up to this time there has been, unfortunately, very little study given to the influence that harmonious relations among men, the proper arrangement of mutual interests, exercise upon the moral conditions of the working-classes.

Take, for example, the influence of paying workmen their wages every two weeks, and almost always on Saturday. The entire population of the workshops thus receives at the same time the money acquired during fifteen days ; and as comrades are very fond of proving their confraternity, it generally happens that the generous entertainments of Sunday lead to reciprocal excesses on Monday, and this custom attains such proportions in certain establishments that the workshops are closed on that day.

It never occurred to any employer to take any blame upon himself for such a state of things ; and the greater part of those who made any resistance did so only by means of rules and heavy fines.

Some establishments sought to remedy these difficulties by paying only once a month ; but if this diminished the frequency of the disorders and foolish extravagances, they made up in intensity what they lost in number ; and, besides, it caused extra inconvenience to the family of the workman.

And yet there was a very simple remedy, without in any way troubling the freedom of the laborer. Since these excesses of Monday were due to the payment of wages on the same day, which provoked numerous reunions wherein each was able to pay his scot, it was only necessary to substitute for a general pay-day a succession of them.

This is the method I introduced in my establishments, and this alone sufficed to prevent work ever standing still on Monday. My workmen are paid every fifteen days, according to the roll of their names arranged alphabetically. This roll is divided into sections, two of which are paid weekly on Tuesday and Wednesday.

In this way each payment is dispersed throughout the whole establishment ; and those who have received their fortnight's wages find themselves by the side of comrades who have not yet received anything ; whence it follows that the workman is more disposed to carry his money home to his family, not feeling able to treat all the others. By this system the habit of going to drinking-places is broken up, as by the other the habit is contracted.

V. RELIEF FUNDS.

Another subject which, if not as visible a cause of demoralization in the workshop, has always been a fruitful cause of rupture between laborer and employer : this is the "docking"

of wages, and relief funds which are a necessary consequence.

Every aggregation of human beings necessitates rules. These are indispensable in all industries which can only be carried on through some kind of organization. There must be fixed hours of labor—that is, of the entrance and leaving of workmen; regulations for the care and the use of materials; conditions by which production and labor are to be obtained.

If the workmen came to the shop without any order, the tools would often be idle, the cost of carrying on the business increased, supervision less well done, the power imperfectly utilized, the raw material badly economized, and the whole business would go on very unsatisfactorily to the manufacturer.

Hence the necessity of rules—the necessity for their sanction. The forms of slavery and serfdom being abolished, the foreman has no legal means of getting his work done but those conventional agreements expressed in pecuniary indemnities; therefore a price is given for work as one of the agreements or rules of the workshop, and fines or deductions are imposed for the infringement of the rules or for spoiling work.

The first germ of the evils of the modern industrial system appears in these facts, which seem at first sight of little importance, and yet they touch the capital questions of the distribution of labor products.

By virtue of a law which we will demonstrate later, man generally looks at things in their narrowest aspect before studying their causes and effects together. He regards them for a long time simply as they effect him personally before considering them in their wider bearings. The owner first looks at a thing as it effects him before thinking of the interest of the workman. This appears in all the facts of the constitution of the workshop as it exists to-day.

The manufacturer, seeing in the infraction of rules an injury to him, thought at first that naturally he should appropriate the fines and deductions to himself.

There were murmurs from working-men at this infringement of their liberty. They perceived that though a part of their wages was retained for imperfect work, they were permitted no share in the benefits realized upon work well performed.

Finally manufacturers began to understand the serious danger threatening through the discontent caused by their appropriation of the fines and deductions for the infraction of

rules ; and at present in most establishments the money thus accruing serves to form a relief fund for the workmen in case of illness or accident.

But the amount of these fines and deductions was generally insufficient for the end in view. Then proprietors proposed to retain a certain portion of the wages.

These retentions augmented the relief funds, but not being arranged in the interest of those contributing the money, they had no very sensible influence on the condition of the workmen. In fact, the workmen, while accepting the relief which seemed offered as an alms, saw in these funds their own capital which the patron disposed of very much as he pleased.

Hence there arose bitter criticism on the part of the workmen. Rumors of suspicion against the administration of the funds were heard in workshops.

The fines, though apparently consented to by the laborer by the fact of his accepting work and subscribing to the rules of the workshop, were nevertheless considered by him as the result of an illegal contract. They were the sacrifice of a part of his liberty, and they increased the income of the proprietor ; while the workman, despite his sacrifice, had no participation in the profits of the industry.

When the laborer has done his work, he feels that he ought to receive the wages agreed upon ; and he will never believe it right that for an absence from the workshop he should pay a fine, especially when such fine is wholly in the control of the proprietor.

The laborer justly considers his wages as something that no one has the right to touch. It is a minimum necessary to the support of life, and the use of it should be determined only by his consent. Hence a relief fund proceeding from the wages of workmen will never be graciously received by them, unless they regulate and manage it themselves.

We go farther, and we say that by reason of the double interpretation of the system of fines—first by the patron, who considers the infraction of rules as an injury to him ; second by the workman, who on his part considers his subjection to the rule as a means of augmenting the proprietor's profits, in which he has no share—it would be consonant with equity and prudence (we reserve the discussion of the question of right until later) that proprietors accord to their workmen a compensation for the fines imposed by transferring to the relief fund all the deductions made for spoiling work.

This is the system that I have introduced in my establishment.

The workmen were asked to choose from their ranks a board of directors every six months. This board elaborates, modifies, and revises the statutes according to circumstances, the patron only executing the decisions of the board. This board manages the money in the treasury. It keeps the list of the sick and others having a right to relief, and prescribes measures in their behalf.

Every week the book-keeper of the establishment presents the following returns: Funds in the Treasury; Fines; Deductions for spoiling work; Funds paid to the sick.

Thus is kept an exact debit and credit account, which the board can verify as often as it pleases.

By this method relief funds escape those recriminations for which there is unfortunately too often cause when their management is in the authoritative hands of the patron; for, however good his intentions, he cannot attend to all the little details to which a relief fund is naturally subject, and even if its management ought to be in the hands of the patron by right, he should certainly guard against confiding its administration to his subalterns, and against refusing it to those who support it by their wages.

By the workmen managing their interests through officers of their own choosing, all cause of suspicion and discontent disappears. If they are not satisfied with their board of administration, they change it for another; and as the business management of the house never interferes, except to execute the decisions of the board, this service is graciously received by the workmen.

And yet these are only simple measures of equity, and far more in the interest of industrial leaders themselves than are those old customs of traditional omnipotence inherited from feudal times.

It is not to solve these questions that they are thus hinted at here, but to point out certain palliatives and examples, which only show how faulty our industrial system is at the present time. The demoralization and the poverty of the working-classes, even in centres of considerable enterprise, depend in a great measure upon the neglect of the expedients here indicated.

The organization of labor is in its cradle, for unfortunately the problem has been heretofore but little studied. The time has now come when every friend of humanity should study ways and means to abolish servitude, and all the conditions which oppress and degrade labor, with the view to substitute

liberty and the elements of charm which ought to surround this great function of humanity upon the earth.

Nothing must be disdained in this difficult problem of harmonizing principles and interests. Practical solutions have their importance when they tend to reconcile liberty with labor; and it would be well if the narrow field of experience could be enlarged and disembarrassed from the obstacles that routine, prejudice, and even legislation create at every step.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE.

I. POLITICAL DEMOCRACY.

THE democratic idea no longer means liberty and equal political rights for the few ; it means liberty and equal social rights for the whole people.

For the working-masses, it means their participation in the management of industries ; claiming of their legitimate right to share the profits created by their labor, and therefore the enjoyment of the advantages of wealth.

The democratic idea proceeds from man's deep sense of his rights. This consciousness develops with the progress of intelligence ; consequently the intelligent classes especially have been its advocates. Being familiar with the affairs of government, they have been struck with the abuses existing there, and have felt a desire to introduce necessary reforms ; and therefore they have first directed their efforts toward the conquest of liberty and equality.

Political liberty and equality are in fact the basis of all reform. What can man do with despotism oppressing his intelligence and his acts ? What institutions can he found ? What progress can he make ?

To soften the rigors of his condition, the dog licks the hand that strikes him, at least until he becomes exasperated and revolts. It is so with man : in the absence of liberty he becomes a flatterer of the great, or a breeder of disorder.

We see, then, how necessary it is that the democratic idea should penetrate first the political domain in order to reach the social.

The democratic idea must, like good leaven, work through the whole social mass, inspiring the sentiment of equality, of the same rights for the same merits and capacities, and creating the desire to delegate authority to the most worthy and to the most capable.

The masses have little sympathy for ignorant authority when it has not the sanction of their suffrages ; but, after all, neither the exercise nor the application of the democratic principle has greatly affected the facts of social life—which may be understood when we reflect how imperfectly it has entered into political life.

But though efforts to establish the democratic principle in political constitutions and in the government of nations have failed, the people have not failed to see that they are not only governed at the top of the social ladder, but at the bottom also, and even more despotically there. They see that in communities where great industries and extensive farming flourish, it is in the very institutions that the principle of authority weighs most heavily ; hence it follows that the democratic idea ferments to-day even in the farm and the workshop.

In modern society the democratic idea is becoming universal. It tends not only to suppress hereditary incompetence in government, and in the administration of public affairs, but it also tends to establish industry—manufacture and agriculture—under the direction of intelligence, merit, skill, and knowledge.

The stupid way in which capital and authority are often used makes the laborer desire that authority should devolve upon tried devotion and capacity. Nature herself raises insurmountable barriers against hereditary administration.

All successful administration results from a proper capacity in the incumbent ; but nature distributes character and ability without troubling herself about the social position of the individual. She does not make a man necessarily a sage nor a genius because he is born a prince or a millionaire ; and those who are charged with the government of nations are not exempt from having incapable heirs.

It is very rare that the savant and the industrial genius find fit successors among their children ; on the contrary, the best commenced enterprises and the most firmly established often fail in their hands, while men endowed by nature with all the qualities necessary to direct these enterprises remain buried in obscurity, unable to benefit society by their natural gifts.

The law of inheritance being considered an obstacle to the progress of nations and to the state, its results no longer respond to modern aspirations of a sovereign people who demand that government should be administered by the most worthy. It is no longer in harmony with the real needs of agriculture, the workshop, and the manufactory. Everywhere the need of merit and ability is felt.

The democratic idea belongs as much to the domain of social as to political reform ; and if those who are devoted to these reforms have been divided by lamentable misunderstandings in regard to the application of the principle, they ought to comprehend better to-day the superior interest that unites them, and joining hands fraternally work together for the common good.

II. SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

Ah ! if liberty is not always to be an illusion to the great mass of mankind, like the mirage of the desert ; if it is to be ever anything but a vague desire ; if ever it is to find realization in the lives of any except those for whom it is superfluous to demand it—is it not into the midst of labor, and the cares that absorb the life of the masses, that it should carry its charm and the delights of its influence ? And is it not in the management of industries that the democratic idea should receive its broadest applications ? Under the leadership of merit and ability, of moral virtues and devotion, men will feel themselves free, because there will be no management or administration but such as they will have chosen, consented to, and accepted ?

Let us go farther than this. If political liberties are the legitimate passion of those who enjoy wealth and all the advantages arising from it, the greater number aspire to those social liberties to which are attached the most ordinary pleasures of life.

Who shall dare to affirm, in the name of justice, that productive labor—this principal and necessary part of human life—should be condemned forever to the anarchy of arbitrary rule ?

No matter under what form servitude may disguise itself, it inspires horror in man. It is due to a profound bewilderment of the mind from which the only escape is liberty.

To-day the best minds are agreed that it is contrary to common-sense that the government of the people should be delivered into the hands of the incapable or the unworthy. It is also contrary to social interest that the manufactory and the farm should be subjected to vicissitudes caused every day by worthless leaders, who by right of inheritance come and take the places of their predecessors.

The day is not far off when it will be recognized, in the name of justice and right, that perturbation and ruin must no

longer be thrown into industrious families by incapable heirs who owe their riches to these same families.

When we examine the past, we are indignant that the seigneur possessed the right of mortmain and a hundred others over the wretched peasants whom he taxed and robbed without mercy ; but we find it very natural to-day that the industrial population should have no power over the immense factories that they build and run, and that the proprietors can stop their work or change it as they will.

Democracy, then, in its organizing movement, has a double field of action—the political and the social : it must perfect the government of communities by seeking their true political needs ; and it must create institutions to insure to the people the enjoyment of the material wealth which they produce unceasingly. Both the political and the social operation of the democratic idea tend to the same results through different means. They both meet on common ground—the liberty and happiness of nations and of society.

III. INDUSTRIAL ARISTOCRACY.

It has not been sufficiently realized that labor is half of human life. For liberty to be effective, it is not enough to tear down old feudal and servile constitutions ; we must destroy every vestige of them. We must not, through the wages system, constitute a new feudality, which leaves to the masses only the bare necessities of life, while it keeps for itself all the products of labor, to waste them in the sumptuous luxuries of new Babylons !

It is high time to ask why those who labor have no right to the luxuries and splendors they produce ; and if, such right being recognized, is it not the duty of those possessing wealth to employ more of it for the benefit of those who create it ?

Wealth is the blood of nations. Congestion results when too much is forced into one part of the social body, and atrophy or paralysis results to the parts deprived of it.

But, above all, individual rights are universally sacrificed when riches are unjustly distributed. It was these rights that the French Revolution sought to reconquer. If we do not wish to renew catastrophes, we must not renew the conditions that produce them.

If the luxury of ancient courts, and of the nobility which

preceded the French Revolution, was sufficient to reduce the people to violent extremities to regain their rights, is it not possible to-day that the wealth accumulated through finance and industry around a power that concentrates it may lead again to similar extremities?

This at least is indicated by the signs of the times. But what can be done to arrest this plethoric afflux of private wealth which threatens to paralyze the nations? Nothing but the employment of the most desperate means, unless a higher wisdom enter the councils of the government, giving the democratic idea new life, directing public spirit toward social reforms that will arrest the tendency of wealth toward senseless luxury, and direct its investment for the good of the people.

IV. THE DAWN OF LIBERTY AND RIGHT.

We do not say that the masses of working-men understand right intelligently as founded upon the natural law of justice—certainly not; no more than do those who violate the law of right. What we do say is that the masses cherish a deep sentiment of right; but for the want of clear notions in regard to the subject, they may fall into frenzied violence in demanding its application. It is therefore wise and prudent to avoid this possible violence by anticipating the just demands of the people.

Only those who possess wealth—the financial and manufacturing classes—can take the initiative in this act of prudence and wisdom. Will they do it? And if they continue to deceive themselves about the government and the direction of public affairs, may they not also continue to deceive themselves concerning the government of industry and labor?

This is the danger that I would avoid by effacing the traces of servitude from labor, and giving the laborer the practical conditions of liberty and independence.

The important rôle that harmonious material relations play in human acts has received too little attention up to this time. Facts apparently the most simple often exercise a great influence in society; and frequently, while studying to repress disorders, a single intelligent measure might regulate the current which would produce them if obstructed.

The democratic idea is the bond of social as well as political liberties. The *people* to-day means the nation entire, and the social idea no longer permits servile functions. Every

workman is a citizen ; and those who prate of the liberty of republics either ancient or modern, with their castes, their helots, and their slaves disguised under a new form of poverty, are but the hypocrites of liberty.

True democracy is inseparable from the spirit of fraternity.

The democratic idea is the principle of social as well as of political reform.

During the first years of my industrial career, the destiny of society appeared to me submitted to the double action of political reforms and social reforms—different means to the same end.

My past life and my social position gave me no influence upon the first ; but my position in industry soon showed me that I might aspire to exercise a certain influence upon the second. For this reason, and doubtless by nature and the tendencies of my character, social questions first became the object of my predilection.

Accordingly, from the time of 1840, I gave myself up to the study of means to reconcile the growth and progress of grand industries with the prosperity of the working-classes, that their homes might be the abodes of health, intelligence, and morality instead of centres of poverty and demoralization.

The events of 1848, and then the second of December, interrupted the plans and projects that I had then conceived.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIALISM AND POLITICS.

I. ERRORS OF OPINION.

If anyone has ever called you a *socialist*, dear reader, I dare say it was not with the intention to compliment you. You were thought an addle-pate, a utopian dreamer, or you may have been considered as a partisan of the leveling system, an enemy of public order advocating the spoliation of the rich ; for such has been the charity of those who would make the word *socialist* a term of reproach.

There are men whose egoism is so narrow, and whose hearts are so dry, that in good faith they have never really believed in social wretchedness. Because they are surrounded with abundance, they do not believe that any can want the necessities of life. Because they enjoy the delights of idleness, they do not know the ills of toil. Because they have never done anything for the good of others, they cannot comprehend how people not crazy can trouble themselves about ameliorating the condition of their kind !

It is to such individuals that we owe a system of organized informers who serve their selfish schemes in days of calamity.

This sad system worked beautifully in our civil dissensions of 1848. After having misled public opinion on the subject of socialists, the enemies of all reform and all progress knew well how by their informers to clog the wheels of our political liberties, and men belonging to no school of reformers, but working with sincere faith to secure these liberties, were repudiated along with socialists who had also been wronged by suspicion.

But in whatever way socialism and socialists may have been regarded heretofore, reflection has corrected the exaggeration into which people were led in regard to them. The words remaining, people often ask what they mean ; for it is not in the power of words to destroy either men or principles. Ideas

useful to society will triumph sooner or later over the errors of ignorance and malice. The end of socialism is social progress, and to establish the institutions that will secure it. This truth is recognized to-day.

II. THE PACIFIC FUNCTION OF SOCIALISM.

Socialism is not a theory, but it embraces a body of formulated theories whose object is to reform social abuses, to introduce into society the practice of truth and justice, and to assign to right and duty their true expression.

True socialism consists in the study of social problems, the relations of individuals as regards their interests, the best principles of economy to introduce into the management of business, and especially in the organization of labor and its relations to capital.

Socialism is, then, in its nature eminently pacific, and opposed to the employment of such disorderly means as certain parties in their fright and rage have ascribed to it. How, indeed, can anyone conceive of putting social ideas in practice without that calm reflection induced by tranquillity and peace?

Experiment would be impossible without these conditions. We cannot organize in disorder. Socialism in its true signification, being the *ensemble* of divers systems of social organization, is only applicable by way of local experimentation; and in fact no contemporaneous school has ever made an attempt at a political change. All socialists of whatever shade propose measures of reform which experience has shown to be adapted to social interests, but without compromising the government. There was, then, nothing to justify the persecution of which socialism and socialists were the object. The pretended dangers to society had no other cause than the terrors of the enemies of reform.

Those sad misunderstandings should disappear, giving place to an indispensable accord between all men devoted to the public welfare—between the generous policy of a sovereignty of free people and socialism, the protector of right and justice.

III. COMMON END OF DIFFERENT SYSTEMS.

Socialism and wise politics can neither be separated nor be hostile to each other. For if the latter secures the sovereignty of the people, and protects their civil and religious

liberties, true socialism is but the science of making practical the blessings for which these liberties prepare the way.

Let none be longer deceived. Those who under the name of socialists are seeking by certain means to change the march of established governments are not doing the work of socialism. They are not socialists, but politicians.

It is only necessary to study contemporary socialists to see that the organization of labor interests, of production and consumption, has been above all else the object of their efforts; and that, instead of trying to improve the constitution of empires, they have sought to ameliorate the physical, intellectual, and moral condition of individuals.

That an intimate relation exists between the liberal and progressive politics of the future and the social reforms necessary to the happiness of the people, we less than anyone intend to contest. On the contrary, that is what we hope to demonstrate; but it is none the less true that the political and the social movement are different, and capable of proceeding separately. This has been the case, unfortunately, up to the present, much to the injury of society; for it is by the union of political and social ideas that a new and better era is to be inaugurated.

We believe that socialism and wise politics can only exist through their accord with the natural laws to which humanity is subject.

Political and social institutions have an infallible and universal Criterion in Natural Morality; for political morality and social morality make One with the Morality and Justice which are Eternal.

We shall endeavor to find the Criterion, this principle of morals in the thought of the nineteenth century, and we shall clear the Formula from the obscurities that still surround it.

CHAPTER VI.

SAINT-SIMONISM.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TENDENCIES.

AMONG the various schools that have attracted public attention in this country, that of Saint-Simon occupies a prominent position ; but this school, more ardent in aspiration for progress than fruitful in ways for realizing it, failed sadly from its impracticability.

Saint-Simon should not really be classed among contemporaneous socialists. His writings are directed specially to forms of government, and his ideas of reform and progress are little else than political plans void of all rule and all guide in their application ; therefore his own disciples are divided among themselves, not being able to agree on the doctrines of the master.

Saint-Simon's merit is that he constantly maintained the idea that the political organization of nations should be one with the social organization, and that the object of every political reform should be the happiness of the people.

For this reason Saint-Simon is one of the men who have contributed most to show the people that all political movements confined to simple change of dynasties or rulers constitute a sterile policy. He constantly affirmed that it was in the modification of laws and institutions that the means of progress were to be found. The dominant idea in his writings is the reconstruction of the ruling power (*régime autoritaire*) upon new bases.

He demanded that the political, religious, and administrative direction be given to savants, artists, and industrial leaders ; science and capacity alone should be called to the councils of the government, to the direction of public affairs, and to the management of industries.

He believed that this select body (*corps d'élite*) would be capable of realizing the best possible organization of society.

But by what means? Upon what basis? After what plan? He leaves that to be discovered.

True, there are found in his works such affirmations as these:

"The general interests of society, in its physical no less than its moral relations, should be directed by men whose capacities are the most general and the most positive."

"The best social organization is that which renders the condition of those composing the majority of society the most happy, by procuring the most means and facilities for satisfying their most important needs."

He makes it very clear that institutions should be established whose object is the increase of the well-being, the physical, intellectual, and moral amelioration of the majority. He says that the precept, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," is capable of new and infinitely more precise applications; but he does not show how these applications are to be made.

Such aspirations are insufficient. It is not enough to say that good is to be done—we should teach the way; and this is just what Saint-Simon fails to do. Nowhere does he set himself to determine the means to give the people the advantages that he would see them enjoying. He does not seem even to comprehend the social distance that separates the industrial chief from the laborer.

It is only by fits and starts that Saint-Simon touches upon the question of social economy. His mind labors unceasingly to convince kings, philanthropists, savants, and millionnaires the necessity of righting politics.

His writings are appeals to all the powers of the earth to aid in realizing such governmental reforms as he had caught a glimpse of.

Saint-Simon tries everywhere to show that the sap and the life of nations is found in knowledge and ability; that society is not generally benefited by those who hold places of honor and profit, because these are often filled by the ignorant and the incapable.

Thus he saps the principle of hereditary power, and yet he depends upon royalty in his plans of reform!

Saint-Simon is the medium of fact above all things. He never rises to the height of principle. He is the precursor of general reforms, attacking vices inherent in the traditions and the ignorance of the past, showing the inevitable transformations of the present, but never raising the veil that con-

ceals the inflexible moral and political laws that should serve as guides to the ways and means for those transformations.

Still, Saint-Simon planted landmarks in the direction of the future, by demanding political and religious reform, in assigning to savants the spiritual power, to industrial leaders the temporal power, in declaring that society should be organized for the good of the greatest number, and in assigning to the public powers the following duties :

"To improve the soil.

"To protect science.

"To instruct the people.

"To procure work for laborers.

"To encourage useful talent.

"To conduct the government at the cheapest rate."

These are certainly objects inspired by the love of humanity ; but they do not give us the method for the study of political or social science.

Saint-Simon has not even a theory. His ideas are in a state of rough draught ; they are a haven for the future of political ideas, not the long-expected light—not science.

Science first considers the law controlling the matter of which it is to deal, and then she forms her plans of execution in conformity with those laws.

Saint-Simon has discovered no law, either moral or political, nor even the moral law of the individual. The precept that he repeats, "*Do unto others as ye would have them do unto you,*" and the maxim, "*Society should be organized to secure the greatest good to the greatest number,*" and many others are but rays of light emanating from universal moral law, but they are not the law itself.

It does not suffice to say that we should love each other and aid each other like brothers ; fraternity has its own necessary conditions. When men are ranged in columns, armed to the teeth for the purpose of murdering each other, as is done even to the present day, hate and war are cultivated among them, not love and devotion.

The laws of fraternity, justice, and love can prevail only in an environment suited to them.

I remember as a workman that there used to circulate in the Paris workshops such aphorisms as these :

"To each according to his capacity."

"To each capacity according to its production."

"To each according to his needs."

But these aphorisms in no way convey the principle of equitable distribution. They are only the expression of true

aspirations coming very appropriately to temper a kind of communism then in vogue. They were a stimulant to ideas necessary to the discovery of the true principle of distributive justice, but I was seeking something more exact and positive. I wanted the formula for these aphorisms—a way to apply them practically; and in the domain of the facts of every-day life I believed this formula was to be found, as a deduction from some moral law to which Saint-Simonism gave no clew.

I remember with what impatience I waited the approach of a day when the Abbé Chatel had promised to treat the questions of good and evil. With what eagerness, when my day's work was finished, I hurried from the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to the Faubourg Saint-Denis, hoping to hear the solution of this profound enigma.

O, disillusion! The Abbé Chatel spoke of philosophy, of the virtues of great men; and I went out from that French Catholic Church with my brain as hungry for the solution of good and evil as my stomach was for my supper. I returned along the boulevards to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, eating chestnuts to give the body some nutriment while I waited for the aliment of the mind that I had sought in vain.

How slow thought germinates in the mind of men! It took me twenty-five years to find the formula, so simple, of good and evil, and then ten more years of meditation to learn how to put it into practice.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMUNISM.

PRINCIPLES AND DEDUCTIONS.

COMMUNISM is the first thought with the greater part of those who have suffered and are still suffering from the social indifference with which society treats them. But does it settle those questions of the just distribution of the fruits of labor, of social equity, which Saint-Simonism has left in such obscurity?

On the question of distribution the communistic idea is more explicit. It touches the problem; but if social progress is destined to abolish oppression and arbitrary rule in human relations, and substitute justice and liberty, then the communistic idea does not meet the conditions of the problem.

The communistic idea grows out of a natural reaction against the abuse of privileges in the presence of privation and suffering. It is the protest of labor, irritated by the unjust distribution of the fruits it has produced.

But the hate of evil is not the science of good; and it is here that we find the errors of communism. Proceeding from feeling, it condemns the existing state of things, but what remedy does it propose? A fictitious equality which is a stranger to the principle that nature consecrates in all her works.

Starting from an arbitrary idea, communism at once contradicts the reality of facts, and arrives at conclusions directly opposed to individual liberty—an element indispensable to the happiness of man. By the narrowness of its formulæ it banishes science from its theories. It does not see the need of studying the laws of nature to discover the significance of variety and diversity of disposition among men. The community being admitted, as the social rule, despite everything, let the consequences follow. Indeed, the communistic idea has led its masters into grave philosophical errors.

The community, according to them, being the thing for man's happiness, of course the nature of man must be in conformity with this principle; therefore, following the logic of their first supposition, the communists regard equality among men as a natural fact, and this leads them to the following deductions:

"All men are born with equal rights and duties."

"Talent and genius are the results of the education that society gives."

"Nature has given all men the same desire to be happy, the same right to existence and to happiness."

These are propositions contrary to facts and the truths of nature, which communists have made the grave mistake to ignore.

Nature varies her formulæ infinitely among men, as among all her creations. Are there not children born whose symmetry of body and robust appearance presage health and strength? So there are men endowed with genius and exceptional skill, who radiate intelligence in every act of their lives. But besides these, are there not other men of feeble minds, awkward and incapable, whatever the education they may receive?

If all men are born equal, as communists would have us believe, why should the community have directors? Equality of intelligence and virtue is opposed to the principle of choosing the most capable. Capacity in one case, and incapacity in another—this is not equality; and can it be a "community" where one orders and the other obeys?

Human life is not wholly material; and if community and equality are true principles, they will not be found in the material world only, but in the intellectual and moral as well.

The principle of natural equality between beings does not exist, because each one has special merits acquired before his entrance into this life. Nature provides for their manifestation. Men are not born equal in rights and duties. He has most rights in society who has the greatest capacity and intelligence; but he has also more duties to perform in society, according to the measure of his powers.

Anyone who has studied human nature cannot fail to appreciate the differences existing among men, not less in their dispositions and mental powers than in the constitution of their physical forces.

No; all men have *not* the desire to be happy in the same degree or manner. All desire happiness, but through means appropriate to the needs of their being, and not through

means fixed according to the convenience of rules. Yet this is the stumbling-block that communism cannot escape. It is the régime of the equalizing system. Without this régime communism could not exist ; for association, participation, or proportionment must appear under some form, and therefore the communistic idea leads to strange propositions. For example :

"The constitution and the laws regulate all that concerns the citizen—his actions, his property, food, clothing, lodging, education, work, and even his pleasures."

"The aliments are regulated or prohibited by the law ; also the number of repasts, their time, their duration, the number of dishes, their kind, and the order of their service."

"All are clothed, nourished, and lodged the same. The republic cultivates and produces all the aliments."

"The law determines the trades and professions to be exercised, and all the articles to be manufactured ; no other industry is taught or tolerated, as no other fabrication is permitted."

"All the houses are on the same model. The law determines the number and the style of all the furniture of each house. They are made and furnished by order of the government."

We do not condemn communism because it justifies arguments like these ; nor because the abuses and the injustices that it points out (in a distribution which gives almost nothing to those who produce all, and almost everything to those who do nothing) appear to lack foundation. That which makes the communistic idea impossible is that it demands the sacrifice of individual liberty ; and it proposes a wholesale levelling as a remedy for social ills, which would plunge society into greater evils than those which communism pretends to have the power of correcting.

Communism has gained adherents by making appeals to equality, justice, and fraternity ; but it has not defined these principles, and words simply cannot justify the grave errors under which communism sacrifices the essential conditions of true equality, true justice, and true fraternity.

The communistic idea starts from the ground that all human creatures have a right to the same wealth, refusing to see that nature stands directly opposed to this principle by difference of functions, inequalities of learning, of ability, force, courage, of will, desires, health, and age.

Nature commands man to seek the happiness of all ; and society should provide for each the means for satisfying his

needs. Communism implies a uniform rule, and to escape the injustice and the tyranny of the individual it would sacrifice the individual to the mass. A communistic society cannot exist except on the condition of subjecting all to a prescribed rule; consequently the individual cannot improve his condition through his own effort, but only through the community regulations. His liberty is annihilated.

Industry varies her products with all conditions and all sorts of materials. Can the community accept them indifferently? To not receive them is difficult, since nature herself varies her products; to receive them is to court inextricable difficulties.

Who shall wear silk, velvet, woollen, cotton? Who red, blue, yellow, violet, green, orange? Who shall possess the furniture of different degrees of finish and elegance? Questions like these constantly arise, touching not only all that human skill can produce, but also all the varied productions of nature.

Who shall consume the finest fruits, tropical productions, and the most delicate viands? What shall be the rule of their distribution?

Communism encounters these difficulties with arbitrary solutions.

Communistic regulations can be applied to corporations of individuals existing among popular societies, for in this case the corporation can procure the same food, clothing, and shelter for all its members. It can demand from the outside world what it needs, and leave that which it can do without. Monastic and other religious communities do this.

Communism can only receive its most general application with people living in the austerity of primitive poverty, and especially with those whom an interest of defence or of self-preservation unites under military rules. Communism is military rule applied to the whole body of citizens; but yet the chiefs manage to escape its rigors.

We have said that communism is a reaction against the evils of a too unequal distribution of the fruits of labor. It is, in the inverse sense, the restoration of the equilibrium of equity, destroyed by the abuses which have existed up to the present time. It is collective despotism imposing itself upon every individual.

What becomes of equality in society under a system that regulates the lot of each one without any regard to the inequalities established by nature? This is what condemns the system, for it is man's will imposing itself upon man.

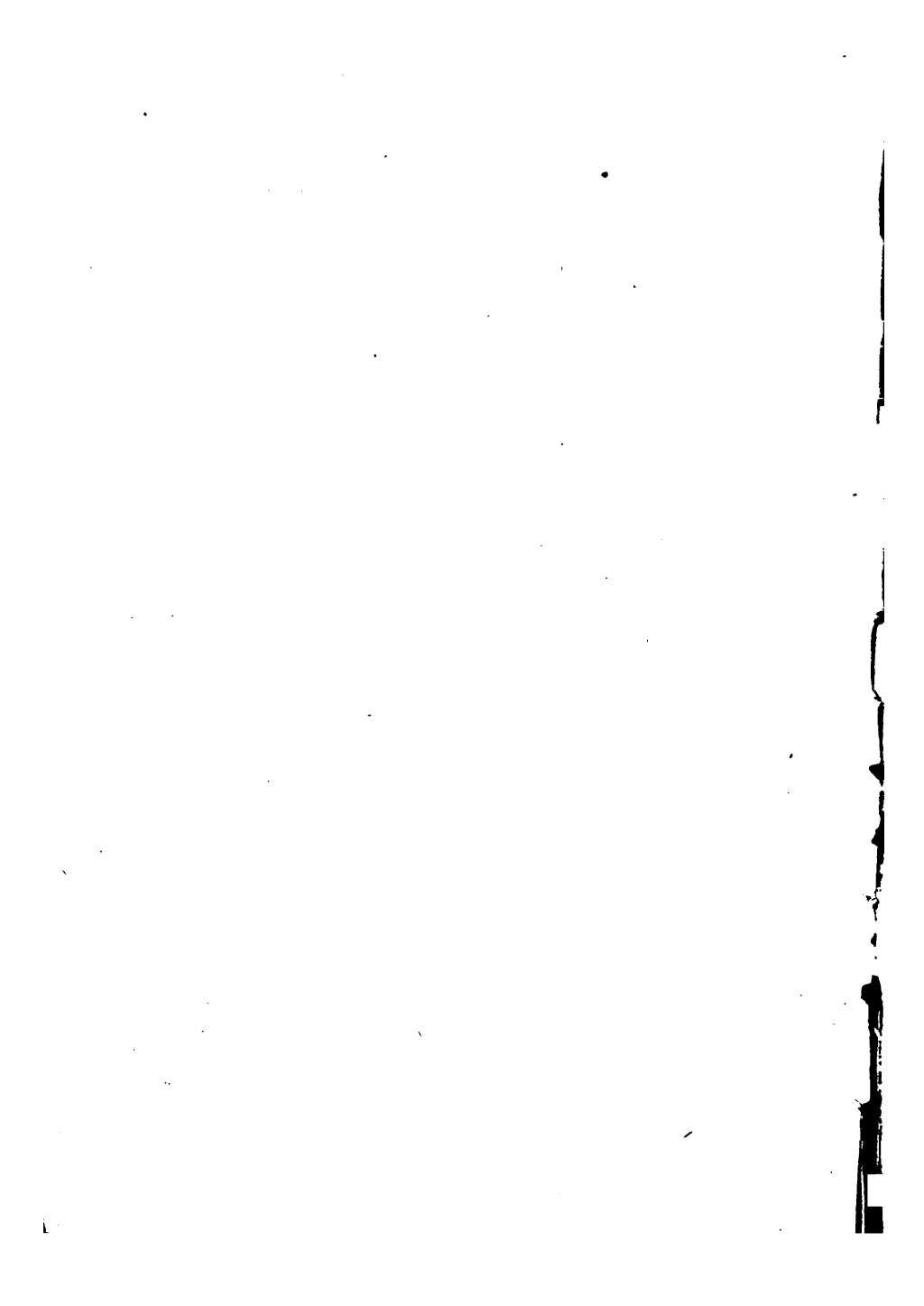
True equality does not consist in giving to each an *equal part*, but to each a part *proportionate to his needs*. True equality is the equality that produces contentment ; therefore not the equality of the community idea. It is proportionality ; it is *association*.

True order is founded upon liberty, and upon an accord between the natural wants of mankind and the diversity of the productions of nature, genius, and labor.

We cannot have true social science until the discovery of the laws of this harmony.

It is easy to understand, and that without any philosophical social study, that communism is readily admitted and justified by those who have always suffered from the unjust distribution of the things of this world. To the wretched, what system of social organization can be so iniquitous as that under which they suffer ? Those who have always had their wants satisfied, and who have never heeded the sufferings of others, may not comprehend that Icaria or Utopia may appear abodes of happiness ; that the communistic idea may be regarded as most just by those who, suffering from the abuses of the present system, without having studied their causes, cannot conceive any other social remedy for the ills that oppress them.

The moral law, then, that we seek in the various socialistic and political systems, does not appear in communism. We see there the desire to realize justice, but by empirical means—while the true way is to go back to the natural laws governing the conditions necessary for human development. It is only by the application of these laws that justice can prevail in social relations. Communism completely ignores this truth.



SOCIAL SOLUTIONS.

Part Second.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOURIER AND ASSOCIATION.

I. GENERAL VIEW.

SAINT-SIMON, as we have seen, distinguished labor as deserving the first rank in modern times, and besought all the powers of the world to do it honor.

This constitutes in Saint-Simon just claims for the gratitude of posterity.

At the same time Robert Owen, in America, extolled the communistic idea and experimented upon it; while Cabet, a little later, presented it in France as a remedy for the unjust distribution of wealth.

We have rapidly indicated how inadequate these doctrines are to the solution of the social problems they deal with.

It was at this epoch that Charles Fourier elaborated the grandest system that the human brain ever conceived.

We can hardly prevent a certain apprehension at the moment of broaching the examination of this system. We know it is considered rather distinguished in these days to express scepticism about everything not pertaining to the domain of received ideas. The word *Association*, which the name of Fourier suggests to every reader, is indeed in every mouth; but men possessing clear notions of the association of capital and labor are rare even among those who assume the mission of directing the socialistic movement.

The social problem is more complex than many suppose; and those who throw themselves into the *mêlée* of ideas with the pretension of aiding by improvised solutions are far, very far, from understanding the demands of serious and real reforms.

They have one dominant idea—often but one—of the thousand points of the problem which you cannot present to them in its entirety without confusing their minds. It seems more simple to them to put in practice a doubtful proposition than to set themselves to that serious study which would clearly reveal the truth. This is the effect that I fear I shall produce upon the mind of my reader, even in examining the practical side only of the theory of Fourier.

Many desire to see the present state of society ameliorated ; but having no faith in any special principle they proceed blindly, hoping that somehow order will grow out of chaos, though intelligence has not sought it, nor determined the means.

It is an error. Order is a result of mental labor. Society can never reform except by science, through the true laws of social progress. We must have a synthesis of social laws before true principles can be put in practice. We must not reject the examination of Fourier's system because it is big with promise. On the contrary, it is better to mine from a rich quarry than to waste time over thin veins. By filling the crucible of experience with rich ore, we shall have an abundance of pure metal.

What we are about to say of Fourier's principles will not constitute an exposition of his doctrines. We shall take certain principles and known quantities that result from his doctrines, as a point of support to those we wish to present later.

We shall reserve entirely our judgment upon Fourier's theory of passional attraction, and we shall differ with him on the means of applying the principles of association ; but none the less do we recognize that his views are generally worthy of study and reflection, and that they are the work of a great genius.

The theory of Fourier presents two principal aspects : one, embracing the questions of social economy, and by consequence all that relates to the production, the distribution, and the consumption of wealth. This will be the principal object of our attention. The other embraces the study of man—the accord between his passions, his faculties, and his social destiny. This is the psychological aspect of his theory which we shall only lightly touch.

Broader in his views than any who up to his time had attempted the solution of social questions, Fourier regards the progress, the prosperity, and the liberty of man as inseparable. In view of the perpetual aspirations of man, he

constructs his theory of the happiness of all. He has demonstrated that happiness is the social destiny of the race, and he presents the organization of a new order, giving satisfaction to all individual attractions, without privileges of age, sex, caste, or class.

On this last point many critics have been deceived. They have imputed to Fourier the sacrifice of individual liberty to the good of the mass; while, on the contrary, no one has to such a degree exalted absolute respect for individual liberty and all natural tendencies of mankind.

Convinced that there is no happiness for the human being, except through the healthful action of his physical, intellectual, and moral faculties, he seeks the social order which he judges the best adapted to develop and to answer the demands of those faculties.

The solution of this problem, according to Fourier, can never be found in arbitrary conceptions, but in natural laws, which we ought to discover, to study, and then to apply.

Abandoning the vague regions occupied by political economists, he boldly attacks the practical questions of labor and domestic economy, and seeks in the natural wants of man the laws of justice and liberty which he makes the basis of his theory.

Consumption, production, and distribution are necessary facts of the existence of man and of society.

To labor, to collect the fruits of labor, and to use them are the principal functions of the individual and of society. Therefore, Fourier seeks the means by which the individual and society may organize labor and production, satisfy the demands of consumption, and introduce justice into the divisions of labor and the distribution of its fruits.

The association of labor, capital, and skill is the social principle that he proposes as the basis of his elaborate system of economics; and here we wish to say that no one has handled the subject with so masterly a hand as Charles Fourier.

Uniting the human forces into one under the order of Association* he has elaborated a new social state, resting upon order, justice, and liberty.

Man no longer preys upon man. The faculties and the

* In this chapter the *Association* conceived by Fourier will be printed with an initial capital, following the example of the original.—*Note by Tr.*

forces of all work toward a common end—the common weal. The efforts of all receive their individual recompense, and antagonism disappears, giving place to productive emulation.

The system of Fourier confines itself to the organization of labor in the community, leaving aside political questions, upon which it acts only by the influence of the new organization of economy.

Fourier has proclaimed in social economy a truth too little known, which is, that association includes the solution of nearly all the difficulties of present society.

Association is inevitable in the evolution of societies, which, after they have abolished slavery, still retain the subordination of labor to capital.

Association is the principle which will efface the last remains of servitude, still existing in modern society in the form of wages, notwithstanding the social genesis accomplished by the French revolution.

But in order to inaugurate the reign of justice and liberty through the association of capital and labor, to replace the tyranny of wages by a right of participation proportional to the co-operation that labor brings to the work of production, we must discover and apply the principle of *equitable distribution* of the fruits of labor. To Fourier belongs the glory of being the first to seek this.

He has given to questions of social economy a grandeur of significance which must, at no distant day, assure them supremacy over political questions.

His scheme of association alone embraces an entire social revolution, which no conception has heretofore approached. He may have been mistaken as to the means of application, but study and experiment will rectify the errors he may have made. The principle of a new order in the distribution of wealth, humanity still owes to him.

There are few questions of economy that Fourier has not presented in a new and brilliant light. By the side of the vast problem of Integral Association, he indicates the march of progressive reforms which he calls *garantistes*, that is to say, offering guarantees for the people. These reforms comprise mutual assurance under every form—banks, national bureaux, public schools, and partial association in every function of commerce, industry, and agriculture.

But Fourier and those of his school made the mistake of not sufficiently separate the economic part of his theory of Association from the organic part, composing his system of

passional* attraction. This has been a great obstacle to the propagation of the practical ideas of Fourier; but despite the criticisms that this confusion has raised, the truths and the practical ideas that Fourier has given us are not less an acquisition to science; and they appear in practical life under different forms, and even under the patronage of those who refuse to accept all his theories.

It may be remarked that what Fourier calls his passion-al system (*système passionnel*) is contradictory, at least in appearance to phrenological studies made by way of experiment; and those who have tried to put his system of attractions into practice have been met with resistance and repulsion. There are, therefore, grave reasons for doubting the value of the combinations upon which Fourier would base the organization of the harmonies and relations of the new society.

Still, if Fourier is mistaken in his classification of the natural attractions of man, he has still the merit of having discovered the right road to follow. He has shown that social order must be based on the satisfaction of the wants of human nature, and not by arbitrary systems emanating from the caprice of men, and exacting the sacrifice of our liberty and of our desires. But, in our judgment, after having clearly stated the problem of Association, Fourier is wrong in its solution.

Led away by the marvellous perspective that his scheme of association presented, he would seize all the complex motive forces of its organization. He would discover the law of equilibrium attending the performance of its functions, and forestalling experience, he imagines the principles of this equilibrium by supposing in the natural attractions of man a scale analogous to that of the musical gamut. He anticipates conclusions from this hypothesis, and makes deductions more or less true, which unfortunately prevent most minds from discerning the immediately practical part of his system. Few can support the splendor of a theory so luminous in promise, and which transports the reader into the presence of a humanity where social regeneration is accomplished.

A living ideal of liberty, happiness, and justice, the theory of Fourier shows us the wants of the body, the aspirations of the heart and the mind always satisfied, and explains how, in the midst of abundance, the inclinations, the desires, and the

* Had the first translator rendered "attractions passionnelles" by the words "impassioned attraction," much misunderstanding of Fourier would have been prevented.—*Note by Tr.*

passions of the human heart may develop social harmony instead of the conflict and disorder that we now witness.

But this equilibrium of human actions demands conditions and surroundings proper to its realization. Fancy, illusion—the special gift of nature to inventors—prevented Fourier from seeing what the inexorable law of time* exacted for this realization.

If there are some among the happy or among the despairing of this world who cry “Utopia!” upon the possible solution of such a problem, those who believe in eternal justice ought at least to hope that it will be solved some day, and I am among that number; but still without believing that Fourier has found the absolute laws of that solution.

The analysis that follows here is not, then, a complete adhesion to all the views of Fourier; but it is a homage that I owe to the works of that immortal thinker and to those of his school.

The theory of Fourier offers two distinct aspects: the social organization founded on the principle of association, and the psychological study of man in his relations to the social régime. We shall endeavor to separate these two aspects, giving our attention specially to the economic part of his system as applicable to the wants of our time, leaving the future to pronounce judgment upon the less pressing part which indeed appears to us incomplete.

II. SOCIETARY BASES.

The basis of Fourier's theory is the association of capital, labor, and skill. The celebrated formula embracing this fundamental principle we owe entirely to him, and it is worth in itself a whole programme.

Fourier demonstrates that the association of capital, labor, and skill is susceptible of results all the more striking as it embraces more of the elements of social life. Thus he exposes his theory in the multiplicity of its applications. It embraces every side of social life, and finds for each a solution concurrent with the happiness of the human species.

* Yet Fourier, in his wonderful work *The Theory of the Four Movements*, shows in his chart that this planet is far from its acme of development.—*Note by Tr.*

The societary organization resulting from Fourier's system has a population of 1,500 or 2,000. It comprises :

Domestic labor,
Agriculture,
Manufacturing,
Commerce,
Education,
Administration,
Study and application of the sciences,
Art.

The association of capital, labor, and skill, as Fourier conceived it, is the association of all the forces in the community. It is the union of every industry—of mill, factory, and farm ; of production and consumption. It is association of all the functions which relate to the common wants of life.

This Association should possess 1,600 hectares (3,954 acres) of land, wood, fields, gardens, etc., surrounding the dwelling of the societary population who are engaged in the cultivation of the soil and in manufactures.

III. PROPERTY AND CAPITAL.

The societary order described by Fourier guarantees to each his living, his capital, and his economies. It holds them in safe keeping, and is responsible for them. A rent, or such an interest as should be agreed upon, is assured in exchange for the use the Association makes of them.

The whole property of the Association—lands, dwellings, farms, manufactories, workshops, machines and tools—are converted into stock, and the certificates of this stock are the new titles of property.

Those who were formerly owners of the soil, or chiefs of industry, patrons, artisans, laborers, farmers, merchants, etc., change titles and qualities : they become stockholders and partners.

By the nature of this property the Association enables any member to dispose of his property without injury to the interest of any enterprise, and without changing its course of business.

The Association offers desirable securities to capital, since the wealth of all responds for the wealth of each.

Real estate is converted into certificates of stock, which any-

one holding can sell or use as he pleases ; but no one can arbitrarily dispose of the soil, buildings, workshops, or utensils of labor.

All immovable property is a part of the societary domain. The individual can only dispose of his personal effects.

Thus is stability assured to all the industries and to all the enterprises. They are no longer at the mercy of reverses of individual fortunes, nor of successions or family allotments. The division and transfer of certificates of stock are effected without detriment to the capital or to the industrial operations of the Association.

The rights of labor are thus preserved, while the legitimate rights of capital are secured.

Property thus rests on the accumulated fruits of labor, and leaves intact the natural right of each to the commonwealth of nature.

Fourier makes few remarks on questions of the principle which he solves, but one cannot fail to observe that he answers admirably and promptly the much-vexed question of the ownership of the soil.

Man receives his life from the earth, which is the source of all that is necessary to his existence. The alienation of the land, then, is the first attack upon the rights of man. No one can pretend to fix imprescriptible rights upon the soil. It is in violation of Natural Right that it has been done.

Association is the legitimate and natural means for the abolition of this violation and for the advancement of the collective interests of society. In associative language the word *property* applies only to personal effects ; it cannot apply to the earth, which is given by nature to humanity, that each individual may freely exercise his skill upon it to render it fruitful and to embellish it.

In the Association the word PROPERTY is no longer applied to things immovable in their nature, since the Association renders transferable through its certificates of stock all the capital which enters into its exploitation ; that is to say, all that serves to supply the demand for labor. But the capital must be used for the best interests of all, and none can legitimately hinder it from serving to produce the necessities and the luxuries of society.

To permit land to lie fallow, or to use it for unproductive purposes, or for purposes injurious to general interests, is equivalent to destroying it, or to monopolizing elements necessary to the life of the people.

Such are the evils and abuses of individual ownership of

the soil to-day—they will disappear with the stock ownership of all real estate by the people in association.

The financial science of our age is well able to teach the lesson that the right of property rests as solidly upon *values* as upon actual *things*, when the security is sufficient.

By such title the stockholders of our railroads consider themselves owners of the road just as much as if each owned a definite portion of the track. Let this fact illustrate for timid people, and slaves of routine, the plan of making the soil the basis of stock certificates; not to uphold the principle of land ownership, but in recognition of the legitimate rights of anterior labor; labor for which the soil, which these certificates represent, should have been given in exchange.

IV. THE DWELLING.

Fourier believed that humanity is destined to raise itself to a state of general prosperity through labor, science, and art; but he demonstrated the proposition that association is the first condition of that social evolution, and that architectural reform of the dwelling will be the first effort toward inaugurating the proper environment for the realization of that prosperity.

The Home is, in effect, one of the primal elements of man's happiness, yet up to the present time science has neglected it, and it is but little indebted to modern progress in art.

The scattered houses of our villages, placed helter-skelter, without any thought of health or salubrity, are oftener places of torture, sources of moral and physical degradation, rather than of peace and rest.

In Association the building of the home ceases to be at the mercy of the ignorance and lack of means of the individual; for that which isolated resources cannot accomplish becomes possible when those resources are combined. Constructed with a view to unity of purpose and interests, the homes, like the people, approach each other, stand solidly together, and form a vast pile in which all the resources of the builder's art contribute to best answer the needs of families and individuals.

Thus a radical reform in the architecture of the home is of first importance in the Association described by Fourier. Under his plan the commune is not a mass of irregularly scattered cottages. The working-classes are not abandoned

to the miserable habitations which we see everywhere in the country, nor to the sordid lodgings that disgrace our cities. In the centre of the domain of the Association is a palace which Fourier calls a Phalanstery, the home of all the associates. Poor and rich there enjoy commodious and salubrious lodgings, according to the means and tastes of each.

If the families of the poor cannot have the sumptuous apartments of the rich, they can still enjoy all the advantages necessary to make a home pleasant and wholesome, with all those general advantages which the palace of the Association affords to its inhabitants, and which the family in isolation could not procure.

In defining Social Architecture, and presenting it as the starting-point of association, Sociology marks decided progress in the march of humanity. It is practical Fraternity inaugurating itself in the splendid unitary palace where there are no pariahs—where we meet henceforth only mankind!

V. FARMS AND FARMING.

The laying out of farms, and the construction of farm buildings is not left to chance or to the caprices of the individual owner. These are ordered for the economy and convenience of the associative labor. The farms are so distributed as to render all agricultural operations easy. The central farm is particularly devoted to winter work, which should be performed near the palace. The outer farms are for the summer operations.

Carriage-houses, stables, sheepfolds, poultry-houses, etc., are conceived upon principles adapted to the health and cleanliness of the animals. When man has conquered the conditions for his own happiness he radiates that happiness upon all that surrounds him. Every measure contributing to the health and cleanliness of farm animals not only decreases mortality among them and promotes public health, but concentrates and saves the manures which are the wealth of the soil.

In the Association the routine and drudgery of small farmers is replaced by the most intelligent and advanced methods. All improvements possible to cultivation are introduced. Irrigation, abundance of fertilizers insure life and luxuriant growth everywhere. The domain of the Association opens wide its doors to science; agriculture makes rapid progress. Not only are the fields rich in harvests, but the gardens and

orchards abound with vegetables and fruits ; for specialists in every department consecrate themselves to their favorite tasks, which, under the societary management, are rendered easy and at the same time productive.

The land of the Association is free from all the obstacles of the parcelling-out system. Plains, valleys, hillsides, water-courses, can all be turned to the benefit of the community. Dams can be built without opposition, and natural motive-power used for the profit of all. The earth will no longer be subject to drouths. Water-mills, wind-mills, and hydraulic rams will raise water into reservoirs, serving general irrigation for those lands inaccessible to streams by their natural declivity. Surface and subterranean canals will distribute this water through smaller canals and trenches wherever needed for irrigation. Thus man will command the showers for the good of his fields.

VI. INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS AND WORKSHOPS.

Labor, in Fourier's system, must share the profits of industry ; it is easy to understand, therefore, that the manufactory is constructed and managed with less parsimony than where all the profits go to one individual.

The workers being associated members of the enterprise, love their work, and from their sense of unity as well as for personal gratification, they would have the workshops or factory commodious, salubrious, and such as to attract public admiration. It being the place where the greater part of the time of the associates is spent, the Association is always impressed with the importance of introducing every possible improvement.

Fourier in describing an Association complete in all its parts, a model for the application of his system, supposes the industrial buildings grouped not far from the palace ; for it is in winter especially, when agricultural work is mostly finished, that manufacturing is most active. Therefore the factories are near the dwelling, to avoid loss of time and exposure to inclement weather in going to and from work.

The factories and workshops in general form a group by themselves, in order that the motive power of the same machines may be used for different work ; for the associative interest commands in every department the easiest and the most economical production. Science intervenes to render the time passed in the workshops most agreeable and healthful.

To this end they are luxuriantly constructed, airy, well lighted, with every appointment such as to do honor to a palace of workers.

The same principle of general harmony presides over the building of everything, in order that labor may be made easy and agreeable.

VII. DOMESTIC SERVICE.

Among the general advantages that social architecture assures to all the members of the society, the organization of domestic service should be placed first.

Domestic service, as practised to-day, is incontestably a remnant of serfdom, which has been perpetuated by necessity, ignorance, and habit. But servility tends to destroy our manners and our social system, and soon there will be very serious trouble for those in need of wage servants.*

Of course one can understand that this is inevitable under the empire of the democratic movement of modern society. Every class tends to elevate itself by labor and by education. Every man cultivates the sentiment of personal dignity; why, then, should he consent to be the valet of anybody when the means of escape from dependence multiply on every hand?

Possibly one might conceive of regions where domestic service or the function of the valet might lead to place and honor, but in ordinary life it is certain that the difficulties in the way of obtaining servants are continually increasing. And if this is true in Europe it is still more so in the United States. In a country where productive labor is paid three or four dollars

*Is not that "serious trouble" upon us—rather has it not been upon us, and growing worse for the last twenty years and more? We see everywhere a hatred among women to be servants. They *prefer* a crust in a garret, and making flounced Balmoral skirts at sixty cents a dozen, for example, as some I know are doing at this moment in the city of Brotherly Love! Follow the organon of Fourier in studying this seeming mystery. A thing universally despised and avoided like domestic service *must* be an evil. Examining further, we discover proof upon proof that domestic service *is* a remnant of serfdom. Its utter abolition, therefore, is only a question of time. The domestic servant has no real liberty, unless permission be obtained from the mistress to leave the premises. On the premises where he *lives*, he or she may be called at any time, night or day, to do some service. The factory hand or piece-worker is not subjected to surveillance all the time; at home he is free—free to starve, perhaps, but it is a very significant fact that many prefer even this to being servants to other individuals.—*Note by Tr.*

a day it must be exceedingly difficult to find people willing to become servants. Therefore the American family seeks to solve the servant problem by an indirect movement toward association : restaurants and hotels become general.

In France people have given up making bread in the family. This work is done in special baking establishments to the perfection of the art. In certain cities in America they go further : the habit of cooking in every household is wearing out, being replaced by restaurants, hotels, and boarding-houses, where the food is better prepared, as a rule. In any case, one escapes the trouble of cooking at home, and can devote more time to chosen occupations.

Fourier, in the organization of the Societary Palace, considered that the grouping and the reunion of families would tend to everybody's advantage, because each could give his time to the labor in which he excelled. Public kitchens (*ateliers culinaires*), restaurants, hotels, become therefore means of suppressing domestic servitude—all interior service being converted into functions remunerated by the Association. Duties thus organized are no longer the mercenary functions of our day. One does not set himself above another, and there is no longer any idea of inferiority in waiting upon others. The servants of the Association, free from all obligation to individuals, are actuated only by love of their work and attachment to their associates. Under such conditions service becomes more sincere and conscientious. It becomes, indeed, a noble, a sacred function, for then none will practise it except those who love their fellow-men, and the dignity thus attached to the person serving will command the respect, and even the affection, of the person served.

And if there should remain in the world anybody with the mania of aristocracy, Fourier pretends that they will find people to serve them out of pity, as Sisters of Charity nurse the sick.

VIII. LABOR.

Fourier's theory of the organization of labor is too novel and too absolute to be applied integrally to our industry. But on this question, as upon all others relating to the Association, Fourier laid down rules based upon principles fertile in every kind of application. These rules lead man to labor by attraction and for pleasure, instead of duty and necessity.

If the idea of turning all work into pleasure seems an ex-

aggragation of the principles upon which Fourier rests, it is nevertheless true that we can conceive of conditions where labor would have more charm than it has had heretofore, and that the laborer might have more pleasure and satisfaction under managers of his own choosing than he has now under the despotic rule of the manufactory and the wages system.

What is the limit of progress in this respect?

Labor has submitted to the dominion of slavery and of serfdom ; it is now under that of wages, under the authority of the contractor and his overseers. Is this the last step in the ascending march of labor and the fate of the laborer? That is not reasonable.

Without accepting the doctrine of attractive industry, as defined by Fourier, we may believe that labor is surely destined to rise to better conditions, and through Association we have glimpses of its realization in the near future. Though Fourier exaggerated the rules which he deduced from his ideas of attraction, and though he may have made mistakes of calculation and interpretation, still, we believe that we ought to affirm that no one can too highly appreciate the principles which served as the basis of his system, only the student should avoid the errors into which he might wander.

Let us for a moment consider the simple effects of Association upon labor, such as Fourier described them.

The laborer rises to the dignity of societary membership ; he shares the interest of the entire Association ; he submits only to superiors of his own choosing ; he has no fear of individual tyranny ; he relies on the justice of his peers.

Real ability is exalted in the eyes of all the members, and no talent can remain long ignored. The laborer is heard in all discussions and resolutions touching his labor ; no decisions are imposed upon him, save those sanctioned by the councils whose members he has helped to elect. All labor is done for the Association, and the laborer feels no dependence upon the consumer or the buyer. All transactions are effected by and through the Association.

All professions must distinguish themselves by their character of general usefulness and rise in dignity by their independence.

Fourier affirms that Integral Association will not admit oppression, nor dependence, nor servitude ; but that it will secure to everybody the liberty of individual initiative and the complete exercise of his faculties.

He declares that the Association of Labor, Capital, and Talent gives to all the right to the implements of labor, and per-

mits the free exercise of the faculties of each upon everything adapted to develop his aptitudes. The principle of association cannot be true except on such condition.

After the preceding, it is necessary to add that the ordinary work is done in a fashion freely agreed to by each associate ; the importance and the value of the work are determined by conscientious rules established by the Association ; that is to say, by the laborers themselves, since every laborer is a member.

We will not pronounce upon the methods of Fourier upon this subject. We do not believe them to be very practicable ; still the general principle remains, and ways will be found to reduce them to practice. We shall try to do this when we come to examine the application of the economic principles of association.

Fourier did not fully understand some things of great importance in social progress, such as man's conquest of matter and the use of new forces in productive industry. The substitution of the forces of matter for the life forces of man is a new enfranchisement. Fourier did not foresee the important part that machinery was destined to play in the organization of agricultural labor no less than in the manufactory. The frequent change of work, which he supposed to be one of the necessities of human nature, does not comport with that assiduous application necessary to the perfection of practical knowledge ; indeed the alternation of employment which he believed necessary we think inconsistent with the natural tendencies which are generally observed in labor.

But though Fourier may be completely deceived on this point, mistakes of appreciation cannot lessen the importance of the principle of association, nor even the utility of the alternating of functions in a measure more consistent with human tendencies and the requirements of production.

Fourier's system guarantees us free labor, free land, free manufacture, free implements of labor, and wise laws favoring the development of all natural aptitude and ability.

The Association, according to Fourier, never imposes any leadership, except that demanded by the permanent suffrage of the members.

It confides the management to capacity, recognized by all.

It organizes labor with the freedom of every one to choose the work which he prefers.

It opens the way for every career ; every talent has a chance of development.

The Association effaces the last traces of serfdom, and by

transforming domestic service and all wage labor into co-operative and associated labor, there is no inferiority except that of ignorance, and no superiority save that of merit and ability.

The Association permits the laborer to alternate factory and farm work, and to employ himself usefully all the time ; consequently there are no idle days from lack of work among the associates.

On the domain of the Association there are always improvements in prospect, and these are reserved for times when the ordinary work is not pressing ; thus, no enterprise fails for lack of hands, for too many enterprises are never undertaken at once.

The Association can so organize labor as to constantly maintain productive occupations for all. It insures stability to labor and permanence to production. And if Fourier took but slight interest in the forces that nature holds in reserve, his system shows us the work of machinery applied to every trade, not in competition with the muscle of the laborer, but becoming for all men the most powerful agent of their emancipation. It is matter subjugated instead of man.

From the day when the dominion of man over matter shall be practised collectively, and for the benefit of all, we shall count the noblest victory of the human race upon the earth. Man, then, on his smiling farms, among his flocks and herds, in his factories, his workshops, in the palace he inhabits, may justly feel that he is lord of creation ; for the animals that he protects, and the matter that he subdues, relieve him of the heaviest labors which it is his destiny to accomplish on the earth through the action of his mind, still more than by his muscular powers.

IX. PRODUCTION AND WEALTH.

The union of force, intelligence, and will in production is the first condition for augmenting the sum of things necessary and useful to life. Fourier demonstrated that the Association realizes this union in labor :

By the accord of the individual with the collective interest ;

By the development of capacities and faculties through the education and training of the associates, young and old ;

By emulation in the desire to win the approbation of the Association, whose interest always is to appreciate and recompense merit ;

By the desire of gain, which in the Association does not cease to be a motive to labor.

The societary organization described by Fourier presents to the mind the following results :

The most economic methods in all kinds of production ;

The interest of every member in useful ends, for every effort induces good order and the best division of labor and responsibility ;

The associated body finds its interest in doing its best and producing as much as possible ;

It does away with squandering and fraud ;

Large amounts are produced in every branch of industry, workshops are concentrated, tools are improved and multiplied, and labor gains in celerity and perfection ;

The employment of motive power and scientific tools will become general in all work—in land cultivation, in factories, and in household labor ;

The Association gives scope and play to every productive force, be it natural, human, animal, or mechanical ;

It has the power to efface those complications and useless or hurtful combinations which depreciative competition and the war of interests produce in society ;

The object of every enterprise is the good of the Association ;

Under the influence of association the activity of everyone finds its natural expression in work ; parasitic functions disappear, and the idle are led to adopt a productive life through the honor attached to every function of associated labor.

Thus, according to the theory of Fourier, the causes or means of wealth increase and multiply, and prosperity spreads among the people. The Association gives to everyone the same interest, the same object. It increases wealth by all the avenues it opens to human activity ; it concentrates all forces, all economies, by the useful employment of everything.

In the Association competition is friendly emulation ; it exists only to stimulate men to do better, to produce more, and so to increase the wealth which benefits all.

Labor becomes an honor—a source of glory and of gain ; society accords it the honors due.

With the general increase of wealth the prosperity of every individual increases, for each receives in proportion to his services and his usefulness in the Association ; therefore everyone has the greatest interest in the societary prosperity, and in the success of every enterprise.

Life is guaranteed to everyone ; the poor enjoy the benefits

of wealth, which under the reign of Integral Association finds its legitimate employment in preserving and developing the happiness of man.

While there is a scarcity of the necessities of life, labor must be devoted to supplying them ; but when these are supplied, the intellect of man will turn toward the perfection of his methods, processes, and niceties of execution. To the coarse or common objects made to answer pressing needs will succeed more artistic productions. And if there be a limit to the consumption of such objects—a limit which production should not overstep—it is not so with improving or perfecting the products of labor and the creations of art. Man can always increase his comforts and pleasures.

Thus Fourier opens before his readers visions too splendid for eyes habituated to the misery and poverty of a society still in its childhood, and in which the ways of progress are scarcely opened. It is certain, nevertheless, that when once association between Labor and Capital is realized, the wealth of the world will find a new destination. Instead of disappearing in abusive prodigalities, founding useless and unoccupied palaces, it will found palaces for the laborer, for the embellishment of the earth, and for the glory of industry.

When the masses work for themselves, under the direction of Social Science, they will accomplish prodigies difficult to estimate to-day. Our prejudices upon organization, both social and political, scarcely permit us to comprehend that which can and must be in the new social order.

X. EXCHANGE OR COMMERCE.

Placing himself from the point of view of general association in communities, supposing it adopted as the principle of social economy, Fourier shows us a commercial system entirely new—the functions of exchange and trade are modified from beginning to end. Commerce ceases to be a private enterprise. The parasites which throw themselves upon the products of all labor, to monopolize them, and raise prices without in any way increasing their value, will no longer find any field for their monopolizing, horse jockeying, or stock-gambling.

Provisioning is done in gross by the Associations themselves, and nearly always by way of exchange ; for each one has its special products for which it has a reputation, and it

operates exchanges in large quantities for the renowned products of other Associations.

Here is a simple method of bringing products to consumers at cost price. The intervention of a crowd of useless middlemen between producer and consumer becomes impossible, and lying and overreaching will no longer be practised.

The commercial function adds nothing to the value of products, and Associations therefore will not multiply commercial functionaries. Where we now have ten shops, and ten families of traders, cheating upon weights and measures, upon quantity and quality, realizing a profit by a fawning and wheedling which the honest merchant cannot descend to, the Association has one vast magazine, where all sales are honest, all merchandise represented exactly as it is, and the buyer never cheated.

In this way the thousand functions of commercial parasitism will disappear, and all those who stand between the producer and the consumer will become useful laborers, creating products instead of seeking to live from the products of others, while unnecessarily enhancing their price.

But it follows from the principles of societary organization that no one will need to appropriate, individually, those things serving the needs of others ; no one will seek to possess anything but that which is necessary to himself.

Those things created by nature, or the labor of man, which serve the life of the species, cannot become the property of the individual any more than the soil can. Labor is remunerated by representative value. Everything necessary to life is placed under the safeguard of the collectivity ; therefore commerce and exchange are societary, and not individual operations under the *régime* described by Fourier.

XI. CREDIT AND INTEREST.

The commercial and societary system, of which we have just given an outline, simplifies in a signal manner questions of banking and credit, out of which some socialists make a universal panacea, as certain doctors would cure all diseases with one remedy.

Under the reign of Integral Association, uniting all functions and all industries, individual as well as the collective, credit is realized upon the broadest possible bases, and without any of those complications, which, indeed, have no merit

in the eyes of many persons, except as they are paradoxical and incomprehensible in their ends as well as in their means.

Societary credit, on the contrary, is as simple in its organization as in its application. Nothing is easier to understand than the securities and the guarantees afforded by great associations, whose collective interests embrace agriculture and manufacturing. Such associations operate among themselves like simple individuals, but in the name of their collectivity. As for private credit, there is nothing to limit it. Every member is guaranteed the "minimum" of support. Organized labor assures a good return for all kinds of work. There is, then, no demand for personal credit, except for those exceptional intelligences armed with new ideas which they desire to put into practice. In such cases, as the individual is known in the Association and appreciated for all that he deserves, if he has merit the Association will stand behind his enterprise, whether its execution lie within the border of its industries or outside of them.

On the contrary, if his invention does not inspire confidence, he must do as inventors generally do, depend upon himself, experiment at his own cost; only in the Association he will have facilities which he could not command elsewhere. Suppose, for example, he wishes to make an agricultural experiment: the Association places land at his disposal, and he has only to answer for the rent of it; if he wishes to make some mechanical experiment, the Association furnishes him with the necessary materials and the workshop he requires.

In such an organization capital is of secondary importance; the question of banking is greatly simplified. The office of each Association takes charge of the financial as well as the commercial business.

Capital ceases to be an oppressive power, an abusive privilege. It is no longer the only voice heard in industrial enterprises. The Societist (*sociétaire*) who has become rich through his ability or by his genius has no importance except that of his personal merit. He uses his wealth as he pleases. If the Association can use his capital advantageously it may borrow it, paying a certain interest for its use; or, not wishing to employ it actively, it may hold it in trust until the owner finds an opportunity to invest it which suits him, whether in the Association or outside.

It is the money market of the present, completely upset. It is no longer capital making laws for labor, but labor teaching capital its function and fixing its price.

In the future social order capital will never be idle. There

will always be new enterprises to set on foot. The Bank of France will no longer need its vaults nor its reserves; public credit will be founded entirely upon public prosperity.

XII. LIBERTY AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE.

Fourier has small respect for certain lovers of liberty, who neither claim nor desire it, except for themselves.

The Spartans loved liberty, while they killed the Helots in return for their services. Rome also prated of liberty, while she reduced the people to servitude. The Bourgeoisie of France ever since 1789 has believed itself very liberal, because it demanded liberty for itself, and many democrats to-day still believe honestly that they are in accord with eternal justice and true liberty in invoking political rights for the benefit of one-half of the human race, forgetting to treat woman as man's equal!

Fourier was not guilty of this inconsistency. He maintained that every human being had the right to the enjoyment of the liberty natural to its age and sex; that woman should enjoy political rights equally with man, in the measure and in the form that it suits her to exercise them, and that to her belongs the right and the honor of deciding what that measure and form shall be. Accordingly, the Association of Fourier places woman on the same base of independence as man. She owns property, administers her estate like man, and marriage destroys none of her individual rights. She takes freely her natural part in the labor of the society.

Fourier could not comprehend upon what principle of justice woman should be deprived of the right of a part in the management of public interests when nature has assigned her a place in society which no other can fill.

It is true that those who deny political rights to woman are much embarrassed in justifying their motives through any philosophical reasoning. They are actuated simply by routine.

Some people reject the Association, fearing that individual liberty will suffer from the omnipotence of the collectivity; others reject it because they think Fourier gives individual liberty too wide a sphere. Fourier himself settles the question definitely; he places liberty first of all among the laws of Integral Association.

The guarantees which the individual finds in co-operative

organizations cannot, and ought not, according to Fourier, to be purchased at the sacrifice of individual freedom ; but, on the contrary, they ought to secure to him the exercise of liberties of which he is now deprived.

The effect of the Association upon individuals will be to teach them respect for the rights of others ; but because the right to the soil and to the instruments of labor are collective rights, the individual enjoys no less liberty than when these and everything else are in the hands of private owners.

Every product of nature is inalienable, and is the common property of society. This must be so in order to assure to every individual and to every generation the complete value of their liberty, and the free right to undertake any and everything they wish, so long as they place no barriers to the enjoyment of the same rights by others.

XIII. EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

What Fourier has written upon this subject is a masterpiece of genius.

How far behind it leaves those treatises upon education which, like the *Emile* of Rousseau, is applicable only to a few spoiled darlings of fortune, with tutors and governesses tied to their footsteps. In such systems of education nothing is provided for the child of the people ; for him there is nothing but neglect. Granted that the father and mother are, as these treatises declare, the natural preceptors of their children, they are compelled to labor every hour of the day in order to secure food and clothing for them. To the people food and clothing must take precedence of education.

Fourier, who by the organization of production and distribution of the fruits of labor, assures food, clothing, shelter, and comfort to all, is also the founder of the principles of democratic education. He alone traces a system of education and training by which all the forces of the body are developed, while the faculties of the mind receive the highest culture.

We will not stop to notice the vain criticisms which may be made upon matters of detail, of form, and application. We will only consider the philosophical and social principles guiding Fourier while he treated the subject of education. His method may include some errors which experience and practice may reject, but in the main it is an admirable conception

which the future will appreciate. Fourier was the first person with grand conceptions of the education of the people; the first to show those sublime inspirations of the heart to which are due his conceptions of social charity and fraternity.

Leaving aside some details of his system of educating children, such, for example, as the frequent changing of lessons, it will one day be admitted that Fourier, from the principle of association, has deduced the true means of educating the people and the general data for the integral instruction of youth.

Association on Fourier's basis once understood, it will be seen that the education of the people naturally follows. Whatever way one may look at his plan of organization, the simple fact of the societary home necessarily implies the care and training of the children.

Early every morning four or five hundred children are assembled under the eyes of all their relatives. The indifference of parents cannot resist the desire to see them wisely educated.

Every member of the Association understands that its prosperity depends upon the capacity of each one of its members. The members, therefore, aspire to see their children reach the high degree of knowledge which will be required in their active productive lives. Progress becomes a passion with the people.

Man being the most perfect being created on the planet, to lavish care upon him is the first duty of the Association. He is the precious instrument of labor; he must be maintained in health, and the development of all his forces—physical, intellectual, industrial, and moral—must be assured.

The management of the Association directs the mind of the people to the importance of the training of the children, but even should intelligence become forgetful of its mission, the interests of the members would be sufficient to make them comprehend that the physical and intellectual training of the children makes the fortune of the Association.

The education and the training which the Association lavishes upon all of her children is the first wealth that she donates to them. She takes care that every talent, every capacity has a chance to develop itself. Thus each individual raises himself to the rank and fortune which his merits assign him in the world.

Education is not obliged to wait for illusory aid from the budget of the State. The Association places the cost of education on the list of general expenses.

In the societary home the child finds the school-rooms at the door of his parents' dwelling. He loses no time dawdling along the road to the village school-house in fine weather, nor in paddling in the mud or water on inclement days. Nothing prevents the child from attending his school regularly. All desire to attend, and the parents are as anxious about the instruction of their children as they are now indifferent.

In the Association the societary interest creates the general tone, regulates the habits, and makes education a passion with the members.

What a grand field for experiment in education the societary agglomeration presents! Practice united to theory, and theory carefully tested by experiment!

In the societary home, or Phalanstery of Fourier, not only are all branches of instruction open to the child, but the manufactory, the workshop, the farm, are so many schools where, as the child grows, he familiarizes himself with all the industries through daily contact with their processes; and he comes to his industrial apprenticeship already initiated through observing, or perhaps through having taken active part in one or more of the industries from his earliest years.

XIV. CHARITY AND FRATERNITY IN ASSOCIATION.

When the interests of the individual become one with the interests of others the spirit of providence awakens; sentiments of charity and fraternity develop with all the institutions they engender.

The minimum necessary for the care of the sick and the aged, has, like education, a special heading in the account of general expenses. These expenses are met by the Association as a social duty, and are paid before any profits are shared. The reserve fund and the contingent fund are constituted in the same way. How different it is where each family lives in isolation, obliged to depend upon itself for everything. A spirit of parsimony results from scanty resources, and division of interests obliges each family to think only of itself. Social duty is not awakened except by the aspect of misery. Only the sight of want and suffering can make man think of his fellow-creature and come to his aid with almsgiving.

But almsgiving, while dressing the wounds of pauperism, degrades the object, and new disorders for society follow!

In Association foresight goes hand in hand with justice; it

does not wait till the evil and suffering are fully grown, it strangles them at their birth. Duties of charity and fraternity are the first, not the last, to be discharged.

Integral Association secures equality in the enjoyment of things indispensable to life. Sufficient wealth is created for all to be well fed, clothed, and sheltered. Nobody lives upon alms; beggary does not degrade the human species. Each one finds a place in the fraternal banquet of life by being useful to himself and others, for integral education raises all to the dignity of the love of labor.

XV. DISTRIBUTION.

In Fourier's system the Association assures to all the minimum necessary to existence. When life, security, and contentment are assured to all; when all precautions for the future are taken, and the duties of charity are performed, the Association divides the profits according to the Labor, Capital, and Talent co-operating to produce them. These three receive their dividends according to rules to which all agree, rules having their origin in justice and equity, since they emanate from the will of the associates themselves.

The Association rewards each one according to his labor and his ability; assures to each the real product of his labor and of his capital. All members who help any enterprise by their money, labor, skill, their talent or their inventions, are sharers of the economies realized, and in the mathematical proportion to the assistance each has given.

The system of distribution as presented by Fourier is too complex for present application. But the adage, *Qui peut le plus, peut le moins*,* is specially applicable to the theory.

Scientific discoveries must be unique in their result; and if the truths of the principle laid down by Fourier are not applicable in the radical form in which he has clothed them, it is none the less true that the exalted ideas of justice, which none before him ever attained, are capable of being formulated so as to apply to our times.

The association of capital, labor, and invention is no longer a strange idea to be lightly dismissed from the mind. It is an ideal of justice, to which no objections are any longer made except the difficulty of application: a feeble objection

* Literally, "Who can do the most can do the least."

since it rests simply on the laziness of the human mind, routine, and the ignorance of the masses.

Though Fourier was greatly interested in all combinations which, through the organization of labor, must lead to distributive justice, he gave little attention to the book-keeping formulæ which would be used in the division of profits. This is all the more surprising because Fourier himself was a book-keeper, and book-keeping, as it seems to us, must play an important part in the association of the elements of production. The only explanation possible is that Fourier all his life entertained the hope of founding the first association of labor, capital, and talent. No doubt he reserved the book-keeping formulæ applicable to labor in the various branches of industry, in order to avoid questions of detail which are unattractive to most readers.

It is also true that Fourier counted considerably upon the spontaneity of the fraternal impulse, on the day of distribution, among a population happy in the enjoyment of abundance, and secure of the future.

For ourselves, who dare not hope to see that spontaneity realized, we should place first that which Fourier considered as secondary, and try to find how the association of Labor, Capital, and Talent can be realized on those principles of distributive justice which the general notion of it suggests. Book-keeping (*la comptabilité*), that branch of mathematics too little appreciated up to this time, will help to solve the problem. Wisely applied to the divisions and subdivisions of associative labor, to specialties and to individuals, it will enable us to find the solution of the equitable division of the fruits of labor.

Further on, we shall take up the subject of the association of Labor, Capital, and Invention, and give the formulæ for the division of the wealth resulting.

XVI. POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION.

We said at the beginning of this chapter that we would leave aside the organizing part of Fourier's theory and take up the economic part. We desired particularly to separate his theoretic principles of association from those practical applications which society can make at once.

For the same reason we shall pass rapidly in review the political side of his doctrine, not even stopping to discuss his

method, and giving very little time to his theory of passional attraction.

Without heeding the foolish criticisms of those who are unable to see the practical part of Fourier's system—to separate the *positive from the speculative*—we will note how, in working out the organization of the commune or village, he creates a plan for the political organization of nations, but without making it a necessity of his system.

The fact of Integral Association being admitted in the commune, the various functions of labor divide and organize to the greatest advantage of the association. Bands of workers are composed ; groups form for each branch of industry, and deliberate upon the order and the execution of their work. Agriculturists agree upon their farm work ; the gardeners upon the gardens and orchards ; carpenters and masons upon building ; artisans upon making useful furniture ; fabricants upon the improvement of factory products, etc.

The associates soon recognize the particular merit of every individual in the different industries in which he takes part. Dexterity, ability, and talent are established before all eyes, and by degrees a hierarchy of intelligence and worth is formed among the co-operators.

Each specialty elects its immediate chiefs, so that the individual who takes part in different industries votes in each of them. On the day of election each member comes with a knowledge of the merits of the candidates gained in actual, practical life ; every capacity is recognized for what it is worth in each department of work, and the honors are thus given to those most deserving. The suffrage, therefore, is a beneficent element in organizing labor ; elections are the general means of promotion in all departments, and not the expression of machine politics. In the Association as elaborated by Fourier we have a true government of the people by the people themselves.

Are not these views full of consequence ? Are they not full of the promise of peaceful progress in the industrial and political organization of nations ?

The vote, as Fourier conceived it, is not a thing of chance, of ignorance, of indifference, or captation. It is exercised within limits where each one sees clearly, and is interested in making a good choice.

Under the rule of the Association artisans and workmen of all kinds have no interests in jealous rivalries : the more the institution produces, the more wealth is accumulated, the more enjoyments are there in reserve, for there are more

profits to divide. The general desire is that everything shall work for the best. Everybody has an interest in the undertakings of the Association, and consequently that each one should be in his right place.

But if it be evident that the members of the Association who are attached to a special department of industry know best how to choose those among them who are the most capable of leading them in their specialty, it is not so when one of a superior position is to be chosen, as, for example, a general director of several specialties, or of the general interests of the Association. Here Fourier would have electors of a higher degree, or of more general information, as, for example, the leaders of groups. These elect among themselves those best qualified to direct grand divisions of labor and the higher interests of the Association.

The hierarchy of the vote is thus based on the hierarchy of capacity; the election of the board of managers of the Association belongs to the chiefs of the various divisions of the associative industry. Their choice is very likely to call the most capable to these high functions. Sincerity in voting, united to the hierarchy of capacity, could hardly lead to any other result. But, admitting this to be possible, the ballot in the Association, being exercised almost continuously, would promptly redress mistakes of this nature, because every one is being constantly measured and judged by his peers.

This mode of election, established in the Association, might extend outside.

As soon as the most intelligent, best educated, and most capable are elected to the management of associations representing a mass of interests equivalent to our present communes, the council of managers of all the Associations of a canton might unite in their turn and elect canton councils; and these canton councils could form an electoral college, constituting the department council, the department councils uniting would constitute the council of the province, which body would elect the national council; each council always choosing from its members those found most worthy of filling administrative functions.

We may note that the hierarchal vote, as just defined, seems to embrace particularly the administrative side of all the degrees of the social scale. The hierarchal vote, according to Fourier, will work equally well in composing assemblies charged with reforming codes and laws, as in composing councils to direct material interests. Thus our legislative assemblies might be formed, and even a senate of old

men, charged with sanctioning social truths and abrogating errors.

Fourier, making a clean sweep of all prejudices, recognized the full rights of woman in the management of associative affairs. What an admirable thing for those who would have a moderating element in our male assemblies would be the establishing of a senate of women by the general suffrage of the nation.

But this system of election, which seems so natural in the organization of society, foreseen by Fourier, does not seem possibly applicable to our present social and industrial order.

The Association is the fundamental basis upon which social democracy, the younger sister of political democracy, lays its principles of organization; and it is here that the ideas of Fourier deserve the closest attention; for if those principles at first apply simply to the commune, their development embraces the canton, the department, the state, and then the political constitution born of the social constitution.

From the points of Fourier's doctrine here enumerated we may conclude that if he fell into exaggeration in stating some of his principles, he was the first to recognize justice and the democratic principle in the organization of labor. He was the first to establish the right of laborers to the rank of *sociétaires* (members of co-operative societies), having power through the ballot to choose those whom they like to lead them in industry. And, philosophically, this right can no more be questioned than the right to elect political leaders. Its novelty is all that can be found against it; but, as it is a principle belonging only to associative, it can be praised and defended without giving the slightest umbrage to individual industry.

XVII. LAWS AND MORALS.

However slightly we may reflect upon association as the established order of society, we see things everywhere setting themselves in harmony with Justice. It is for this that the works of Fourier are so rich in remarks and demonstrations, for which posterity will be grateful to him. It is for this, though we have yet to demonstrate the existence of a universal criterion of politics, legislation, and moral science, denied up to this time, and which Fourier himself has not formulated, we none the less consider his theory as the noblest of social conceptions, because it is exactly in accord with

this criterion—with this supreme law which must furnish rules for the guidance of humanity.

After having discovered the new economic world of Integral Association, Fourier was led to calculate its mechanism and arrangement. Here, as we have said, Fourier was less happy in his researches. We also said that it was not our purpose to touch this question here ; it will, however, be interesting to note rapidly the natural influences of the Association upon legislation, and the manners and customs which will result ; influences which we can partly see, though association should not be organized as Fourier prescribed.

One important fact should not escape our attention ; integral association would gradually render all our present laws useless. Is not this a first presumption in its favor ?

In suppressing our laws, or in reducing them about ninety-nine per cent., removing all the barriers against which human nature constantly struggles, would not the cause of liberty be forwarded ?

This is an ideal not yet possible. Time alone can make it a reality ; but, nevertheless, it is a source of light which should be of service in reforming our political code—our legislation—although our present society is very far from being based upon the association of Capital, Labor, and Talent.

No one can comprehend the social order founded upon the Association without seeing the solidarity of individuals in the commune, of communes in the canton, of cantons in the state, and of nations among themselves, without making a clean sweep of those prejudices of nationality which conceive nations as collectivities necessarily hostile to each other.

Frontiers and custom-houses are wiped out ; peoples know each other only by the differences of their genius, their productions, their languages, zones, and climates. There is no more rivalry among them, except a friendly emulation in the production of the necessities of life. The sacred contests of labor will replace the abominations of war. Political rights indissolubly united with social rights are universal, and all men are citizens of the world.

Despotism is impotent to turn people from their true course of Labor, Liberty, and Fraternity.

The point upon which Fourier has been most furiously attacked by all the armament of prejudice, is that of the relations of the sexes.

To many men who have some pretensions to philosophy, marriage, as consecrated in France by the law, is no less respectable than if it had been consecrated by God himself !

A great many critics have attacked the freedom of Fourier's ideas upon this point; they have accused him of trampling law and order under his feet, not seeing that Fourier desired but one thing: to destroy the hypocrisy of a false morality and to substitute true morality according to the laws of nature.

But for men bound by habit to the letter of written laws, the laws of nature, the true laws of God, are nothing. Nothing to them is respectable but the following of the human law, which forces the individual to sacrifice his dearest liberties or to practise hypocrisy and lying. Such is the morality which they who praise it violate continually.

A morality which places duty in contradiction with the imperious laws of nature, with the needs which nature has given to the individual to call him unceasingly to accomplish the mission for which he was created, is not morality in the eyes of Fourier; it is immorality!

The difficulties which society, by its present constitution, opposes to the practice of truth cannot prevail against philosophic right. These difficulties simply indicate errors and abuses over which science and study must triumph.

Our codes of law are full of the relics of a former age. Is there, for example, anything more monstrous than the law of paternity and filiation, which imposes children upon the husband which often are not his own; classing children as legitimate and illegitimate; robbing the latter, which the same God has created, of their right to maternal and paternal protection, and their right to all share in inheritances?

Is it nature which has made this distinction? No; on the contrary, she often bestows talent, even genius, upon those whom society repudiates.

Fourier has not committed the profanation of making nature the accomplice of our sins and weaknesses. He bases morality upon the practice of truth and the legitimate liberties of the individual. He affirms that all the children of men are equal before nature, before their parents, and before society, and that they differ only by merits and virtues, to which they may raise themselves.

The Association, side by side with the parents, protects the child from its birth onward. Paternal power preserves nothing of the color of the barbarism of ancient times. The father and mother have only the right to do the child all the good which their love inspires; but their power does not extend to the right to cramp the growth of body or soul through neglect of physical, intellectual, or moral training, nor to enslave it under the apprenticeship contract system.

The Association is the vigilant tutrix of all her children ; all are equal before her. This is Fourier's doctrine. It little matters whether he was mistaken as to the form. Our codes will one day do him justice ; and for the inauguration of true liberty and the glory of France, may God grant that it be soon !

But Integral Association not only causes the desuetude of our political and civil laws—laws upon marriage, filiation, legitimacy of children and their guardianship—it regenerates all our laws upon property.

The necessity for distinction between the possessions of individuals can scarcely exist where property no longer rests upon the thing, but upon its value, represented by certificates of stock, analogous to those which are multiplied in our day in all our great public enterprises.

Under the *régime* of Integral Association property is represented in three grand divisions :

The Public Domain : Railroads, routes, rivers, streams, canals, seaports, and everything of general and public interest and use.

The Societary Domain : Parks, woods, prairies, palaces, manufactories, mills, workshops, farms, tools and implements, and everything pertaining to the general industries of the Association.

Individual Property : Movable, personal effects, certificates and titles of value of all kinds.

This *régime*, which permits all possible exceptions (since it might be applied by way of local experiment), would suffer much modification in cities where the present disposition of things does not readily lend itself to this transformation of property. But if we conceive the system established solely in agriculture and manufacture, our laws upon property, all made in view of landed property, would be useless.

Individual wealth is transmitted much as bank-notes are to-day.

Our laws upon habitation, usufruct, service, partition walls and ditches, boundary lines, gutters and roofs, "ancient lights," (*les vues sur le voisin*), etc., would die out. Suppressing the cause, the effect disappears. The perpetual dissensions which individual property in land creates between men would cease with societary property. There would be no more lawsuits.

Succession is immensely simplified when there is nothing but personal property to be divided.

Laws upon inheritance are to be greatly modified under a *régime* which proclaims liberty for all. The law does not deprive the individual of freely disposing of his property, but it

reserves for the children of the Association that protection which no father should forget.

The multiplication of forms of contract disappear. The individual has scarcely any need of contracts. The operations of the Association are substituted for those of the individual. The individual scarcely knows any other obligations except those concerning his work, and all transactions have the simplicity of the commercial operations of our day. No one suffers those thousand surprises and annoyances which the wealthy to-day are continually subjected to.

The only sales are those of personal effects and commercial goods. Selling, as we have already explained, is a society, not an individual, function. The soil and all the immovable property belonging to the Association constitute the common domain, and is controlled for the general good. In this domain no one has any real estate to sell; he can only sell his certificates of stock; therefore there are no contracts.

Privileges and mortgages cease to be the rich vein exploited by usury and rapine at the expense of labor.

Anyone having a great deal of personal property can always turn a part of it into ready money if he desires to do so; and if he does not care to sell he can easily obtain advances upon it by depositing titles in the office of the Association without any expense except that allowed by the decision of the whole Association.

When laws are simplified in this way the causes of lawsuits will be also simplified, and the function of the judge will be as clear and simple as it is now obscure and complicated.

The reader can comprehend without our aid what would be the influence of association thus organized upon civil and criminal causes.

XVIII. MORALITY.

Fourier attacked our moralists so severely that we cannot, after the preceding chapter, avoid adding a few words upon the moral laws resulting from the social order conceived by him.

Very accommodating in regard to temporary troubles incident to the passage of a social order permeated with prejudices, falsehood, and hypocrisy, to a new order based upon the franchise and the practice of truth, Fourier is pitiless toward philosophers and moralists only because they enjoin doing good and avoiding evil without regard to the utility, the truth, the times and places.

sist in respecting all the faults with which our legislators and our manners are sullied.

Fourier was not contented with a vague morality, uncertain and incomprehensible in its ends. He declared that every creature came from the hands of God subject to natural laws according to his species ; and that man, consequently, like all else in the universe, must obey his own particular law under penalty of failing in his duty. To Fourier the happiness of the species is the sovereign law of good, and the unhappiness of the species the sovereign law of evil.

Whatever conduces to our happiness is *Good*.

Whatever conduces to our unhappiness is *Evil*.

This is his criterion : *There is no true good except that which conduces to the happiness of the human race.*

Hence it follows that Fourier finds political ideas inadequate to found a social order in harmony with the laws of man's nature, because political ideas do not work toward the happiness of man, or only in a very indirect way.

The general happiness being to Fourier only the sum of individual happiness, it follows that the true social order should watch over the happiness of each one by giving free scope to his tastes, his tendencies, his aptitudes.

Fourier therefore gives social reforms precedence over political reforms ; studies the economic rules which must control the domestic organization in which each one should find his own happiness in promoting the happiness of others.

In presenting the quest of happiness as a moral principle, Fourier deduces a rule of conduct for our guidance. This he finds in the inherent attractions of human nature, man obeying the attractions with which the Creator has endowed him accomplishes his destiny.

To minds not warped by prejudice in favor of our arbitrary laws to such a degree that they look for good in evil, and evil in good, there is something in this boldness of Fourier that goes straight to the heart ; and then results the conviction that if he has not discovered the absolute truth he is at least not far astray. For there is in the principle a great part of the truths which embrace the moral law, or the question of good and evil.

Certainly no one has approached nearer than Fourier to the law of true morality ; still I believe his principles insufficient to embrace or explain the highest facts of moral conduct.

It is very evident that he who makes it a necessity of his own nature to seek to make others happy, accomplishes one of the highest purposes of the human mind.

Laws upon inheritance are to be greatly modified under a régime which proclaims liberty for all. The law does not deprive the individual of freely disposing of his property, but it

law laid down by Fourier? How can we explain the legitimacy of the admiration which humanity has always had, and always will have, for that grand devotion, that grand courage which inspires people to give life itself for their fellow-men? Have these failed to obey the law because they have not sought happiness for themselves?

No: on the contrary. These are they who have most fully accomplished the natural law; and this is why humanity admires them!

The principle of morality as presented by Fourier is liable to false interpretation in the most ordinary acts of life; for it is precisely seeking happiness by the gratification of primitive attractions which leads to that cold selfishness that morality repudiates, and which Fourier, more than any other person on earth, combated by a life of labor and devotion, no less than by his philosophy.

Seeking happiness by attraction, or by satisfying our individual needs, is inherent in our nature; but this has its superior moral law of equilibrium in other natural laws.

We may then conclude that to Fourier belongs the honor of having created a new formula of the law of morals; but that, nevertheless, it is incomplete.

The true formula of the law of morals must embrace and explain the grandest as well as the simplest acts of life. The "Criterion of Good and Evil," formulated farther on in this book, will, I hope, do this.

XIX. SOCIETARY PROPAGANDA.

Such were the problems which that immortal thinker, Fourier, had attempted to solve. This impressed me profoundly as I studied those questions outside of which there appeared to me no hope for humanity. For the first time I found my mind declaring justice and the laws of its equilibrium applicable to all human actions. Fourier had the merit in my eyes of being the first reformer who, putting aside all prejudice of caste, sought the realization of justice, liberty, and happiness *for all*, contrary to the ideas of the legislators and philosophers of all times. Those have believed society possible only under the reign of privileges for the *minority* arrogating authority, liberty, and the possession of worldly goods, in the midst of an immense majority subjected to slavery, servitude, subordination, poverty, or misery, according to times and places.

He did not, like so many others, inveigh against the chaos of social ills, only to recognize the necessity of that chaos. He pointed out the evils of society with a diagnostic power which allowed nothing to escape, and showed clearly the remedy for each and all of them.

Were the solutions proposed by Fourier and taught by his disciples exempt from error? This must be doubted; the experiment had not been made; but the pacific methods which these solutions exacted, the grandeur and the boldness of their conception, the devotion to humanity which informed them—all this so responded to my aspirations that I could but be of those who ardently desired to see the world in possession of the incontestable truths and the principles of social organization proclaimed by Fourier, even though there might be errors in his system. Considering the ardor of his temperament it would be strange if he had not fallen into the exaggeration of some idea or some principle.

Moreover, his disciples accepted no rallying motive but that of progress in social science by experiment. It was not a man to whom they were devoted, but the truths that his ideas included; therefore they rejected the name *Fourierists* for themselves and *Fourierism* for their doctrine. Disciples of Fourier, they had no notion of professing or believing anything because the master had said it; but they believed and professed in the name of the science that they had learned of him. They called themselves members of *l'École Sociétaire*, meaning it to be understood thereby that social science and the truths embraced in the principle of the Association of Fourier was the object of their aspirations.

The *École Sociétaire* filled a double rôle: the propagation of the new ideas of association, of mutuality, of co-operation, of solidarity, and the obtaining of means for an integral application of those new ideas, that is to say, their application to all the functions of ordinary life combined in an association.

Liberty of speech and of reunion then permitted oral and written teaching under various forms. Ardent devotion was not wanting for the task; it was the active element of the school. The passive element was that devotion of another kind which spread the light by subscriptions and labored to raise sufficient capital to make a practical experiment of the principles we have here outlined.

The stream of ideas widened as it flowed onward, bringing new material every day to the societary school, which now counted men of intelligence and talent from all parts of the

world, and the hope of a practical experiment of Fourier's theory acquired new force in the hearts of men. They considered this experiment as the most important that humanity could accomplish in the interest of the peace and happiness of all classes of society.

There was certainly a fascination in the exaggerated hopes of the *Societary School*. Progress is slow and difficult to achieve; and had the theory of Fourier been completely exempt from error, its immediate application would have failed, first, because of the industrial incapacity of the members who must, according to the theory, exercise several productive functions in alternation, and, still more, because of the many prejudices and inveterate habits which they must have brought into a social order where they could not have become adapted until after being tempered by a rational education under the *régime* of true liberty—physical, moral, and intellectual liberty.

But if the trial of the Phalanstery failed in its most salient characteristics, no one has a right to say that there would not have come from the experiment a brilliant demonstration of the value of a great number of the social principles belonging to the theory, if the experiment had been made under the protection of liberty and sheltered from the exactions of prejudice, and if its founder could have been a man capable of following the operation in all its movements, and of distinguishing the portions of the theory capable of immediate application from those whose application should have been deferred or entirely rejected.

But to succeed in founding a societary community uniting a population of some sixteen or eighteen hundred, without admitting some whose incapacity would compromise its success, there must be a large number having strong convictions.

Above all, it was necessary to bring together those who were so fortunate as to be able to comprehend that there is no certain safety for anyone in this world while the happiness of all is not assured, and that it is only by establishing the reign of justice and equity, through just distribution of the necessities of life, that peace and happiness among men may become real and lasting.

Such convictions once established, capital could be raised in sufficient amount to found the complete community necessary to make the experiment of Fourier's theory.

The societary school had reached this point in its *action militante*, when the political events of 1848 destroyed the fruits of the labors and sacrifices of years.

CHAPTER IX.

1848 AND AFTERWARD.

I. PROSCRIPTION OF THE SOCIALISTS.

THE revolution of 1848 broke out in the midst of this movement of social ideas. It was a great surprise to everyone ; but those who were animated by the love of progress believed that it was a step in advance for French society toward the reign of liberty, and would be an aid in the elaboration of the great questions that interested the future of the world.

Men who up to that time had opposed everything new, boldly proclaimed the republic and greeted the new ideas. They were the most enthusiastic in affirming that the principles of association should henceforth form the basis of our social edifice.

This hypocritical sympathy, born of ignorant fear, was of short duration, and only served as a cloak for a violent reaction, which ended in the persecution, exile, and proscription of men engaged in social studies with the sole object of benefiting mankind.

Most people can only rise to the comprehension of facts already accomplished, and to questions which touch their personal interests. Large and generous ideas, so long as they remain simply in a speculative state, can find no place in the vulgar mind. To be understood and admitted these ideas must find expression in the domain of facts.

In political movements, then, these narrow-minded men direct public affairs ; they sacrifice everything to the present and to their own ends, without any thought of the interests of the future. In such cases concessions made to opinion are but hypocritical and selfish manœuvres.

As soon as a credit of three million francs was opened in favor of the association of workmen the alarm sounded, and the partisans of the principles of association and the organization of labor became victims of proscription.

I was at Guise at this time, the object of informing spies. These were certain individuals whose fear of reform aroused

their zeal to try for office in the hierarchy of a power whose personal tendencies they already comprehended.

I was signalized as one of those who believed that social progress was possible and this was sufficient excuse for representing me as a dangerous Socialist.*

The second of December soon crowned the hopes of the reaction. Still I escaped being exiled, thanks to the want of proof against me, and doubtless also to the great number of workmen I employed, and whom they feared to deprive of labor. But the Societary School, ruined, dissolved, and scattered, paid dearly its tribute to banishment and persecution.

After twenty years of labor nothing remained to this school but the ideas it had disseminated over the world touching the fruitfulness and the justice of the principle of association.

II. TEXAS.

There was great consternation among the Socialists, and especially among the scattered members of the Societary School. They saw men animated by the love of progress banished or proscribed. They had to bury in their hearts the many smiling hopes of liberty, progress, peace, and happiness, conceived to bless the whole world, and re-enter the narrow circle of political life, which left nothing for the activity of the mind but narrow views and private ambition.

Nothing offered any hope that the principles of association could outlive the storm. The cause had fallen into utter despondency, when, in 1853, M. Victor Considerant returned to Belgium, bringing from an excursion across America a project that revived the hopes of a small number of persevering Socialists.

M. Considerant had left Europe to visit the United States. He returned from a land of liberty where he had seen the splendid horizons and the magnificent oases of virgin nature. The Socialists could go there and find the liberty of action that our country refused them. Eden, the Promised Land, opened before them, and there they might inaugurate a new society—free, happy, without restraint, and with the assistance

* And the same France, some twenty-five years later, doing tardy justice to the greatest of her citizens, decorates M. Godin with the cross of the Legion of Honor.

of a nature so propitious that its fruitful riches would almost in themselves suffice for the wants of man. These riches were more than an equivalent to the sacrifices they would impose upon themselves by leaving Europe to seek a refuge for their faith.

"To Texas!" was the cry of the good news that V. Considerant brought from America in 1853. This enthusiasm was shared by an American who had promised to subscribe \$20,000 for the society that V. Considerant was to collect in Europe for this enterprise of colonization.

There are phases of singular experience in the human mind which find expression in extreme determinations. Considerant's appeal found the Societary School in one of these phases.

Men who were trying to find scientific solutions of social economy under the auspices of study were counted as enemies of order. Absorbed in itself during five years, the Societary School had been deprived of all means of action. The call of Considerant was a ray of hope which made them forget all rules of prudence. Five hundred thousand francs were raised as the first capital, with promises of considerable additions as soon as the colony should be in condition to receive them.

For my part, I gave 100,000 francs in hard cash, the third of the fortune that I then possessed!

Up to that time I had thought that I could not do better for the progress of social ideas than to aid the movement that had been given to them by the principal disciples of Fourier. Unity of purpose appeared to me a condition of success, and I had always given my support to all the demands and propositions made in the name of the propagation of social ideas in view of reducing them to practice.

In responding to the appeal of V. Considerant, the Societary School placed itself on the plane of action and experiment. This, of course, greatly pleased me. I knew for myself how ready I was to play my part. I accepted a place in the management of the society, confident of my utility in directing the practical matters that we proposed to go and realize in America. My confidence then was not less in the practical capacity and skill of those who hitherto had distinguished themselves in defending the principle by words only.

With the whole Societary School, I fell into the error of believing that action must be commensurate with oratorical talent. In certain critical situations an illusion will lead everybody captive.

In reading the scheme of emigration and colonization in

Texas by V. Considerant, seeing an enterprise of such broad conception, the *exposé* of which showed with irresistible logic the necessary conditions for its formation, its development, and its success, the members of the Societary School naturally believed that a superior knowledge of practical things would be revealed to them: heretofore the school had simply lacked the conditions to develop this knowledge.

This was a grave mistake! All men are not able to put in practice the plans they have conceived and traced. Every talent has its limits, and the Societary School payed dearly for rejecting the logic of facts, and for not having sufficiently ripened its opinions upon the ability of those who took in hand the direction of the material interests of this enterprise.

But the enthusiasm so singularly exemplified in this enterprise is explained by that love of liberty which is the dearest hope of those who see social progress in the realization of those things that contribute to the happiness of all. They do not hesitate to abandon an ungrateful country, where they have been refused the means to realize the good that they have conceived for humanity.

I have wandered from my subject to narrate the disappointments that I suffered during my participation in the direction of that unhappy affair. I will only add that, in losing the illusions that had been the motive of my confidence, I went back to myself, firmly resolving to wait no longer for anyone to take the lead in a trial of social reform which I might accomplish myself alone.

As soon as it became certain to me that the Texas enterprise was in the direct road to ruin, I set myself to work repairing the damage it had done to my fortune and to my business.

No hope remained of any immediate experiment of social ideas. Thenceforth they were confided to the people, slowly to make their way in the domain of thought, like all the other social ideas which flourished in the first half of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER X.

STRAY SOCIAL IDEAS.

I. LABOR ASSOCIATIONS.

THE question of association had profoundly stirred public opinion before all these events ; but, though the soil had been ploughed and mellowed, productive seed had not yet been sown. Still, brave partisans of Principle had planted her banners on the domain of Practice. Associations sprung up on all sides.

After the month of July, 1848, despite the distrust that these associations, were causing the government, a credit of three millions of francs was voted, under the pretence of aid ; but really it was a means to permit the state to interfere in these associations and to hold a high hand over them, by the conditions attached to reimbursement. They saw the danger, and very few among them accepted the loan.

The best protection that the law can accord to the principle of association is to recognize its right to exist, and then leave citizens the full liberty of practical experiment.

No power in the world can raise public opinion at once to the conception of the practical laws of integral association ; nor individuals to the plane of justice and fraternity necessary to associative life. This is the work of time and experience acting with those moral causes that educate the people's mind. The executive power should be the first to acquire social virtues and set a practical example for the people to follow.

Such moral causes could not exist under an absolutism which, seeking to destroy everything not dependent upon it, augmented every difficulty necessarily attending the inauguration of an economic system conceived in the interest of labor.

Therefore the greater part of the working-men's associations which had not accepted the pretended protection offered them succumbed under the pressure of difficulties thrown in their way, while the narrow circle in which those which survived were compelled to move rendered their experiments

valueless. As they were each devoted to some special industry in which all participated, they constituted bodies little in accord with the true principles of association.

The members of these societies were not positively partners nor associates (*sociétaires*), but simple co-operators in a common labor for the purpose of sharing the profits. Indeed, the word *association* was some years later replaced by that of *co-operation* for those enterprises where the idea of association still retained some sign of life.

This term *co-operation*, coming to us from the experiment made in America by the Englishman, Robert Owen, was applied to popular associations with apparent success.

The word *association* was too broad and too complete in its significance to keep its place in the press. This sacrifice to the properties of the moment induced the official world to make a last effort to control the movement so tenacious of the idea of organizing the interests of the people. A law as imperfect as its author's ideas of social economy was framed for the purpose of controlling co-operation. Amid such obstacles and discouragements the idea of association was confusedly studied, discussed, and kept alive.

Thus an important movement was clogged; but still the ideas of the *École Sociétaire* maintained themselves in the midst of a silence as of death—a silence imposed upon them for long years.

Honor to the brave disciples who found ways to keep a little lamp still burning on the altars of Progress through all the darkness of her long eclipse!

II. WORKING-MEN'S CITIES.

Despite the silence imposed upon principles, there remained the thought, in the form of a vague sentiment, that forbidding the expression of social wrongs was not really destroying them.

At length it began to be seen, even in official circles, that the grave problem of ameliorating the condition of the working-classes was one that must be solved; that the progress of civilization called for a remedy for pauperism.

People saw that the great increase of wealth was abnormal, while the working-man had no security against eventual poverty. It was evident that his condition ought to be ameliorated in proportion to the sum of wealth produced.

Those who had contributed most to the destruction of ideas of association gathered up the fragments of the wreck, wherever they could find them, in order to build up their popularity after their own fashion. Then the idea of working-men's homes was thrown out to the people as a salve for their wounded hopes.

In January, 1852, a decree granted ten million francs for the improvement of working-men's homes. This was a companion to the loan offered to associations. This time, however, the ten millions were not offered as a loan to companies, nor to the industrial leaders who wished to direct the construction of homes. It was a gift, out and out.

Wherefore to workmen those small loans, with burdensome conditions, and why those large sums given gratuitously to capitalists?

The *Cité Napoleon*, which was to be a model, received a subsidy of two hundred thousand francs!

Other companies at Paris received, altogether, many millions, and, from them all, nothing resulted but the most complete failure.

The *Cité Ouvrière*, or working-men's city, was then the petty field in which contended those grand principles, rescued by their enemies from the wreck of a social movement that, from 1830 to 1848, had engaged the attention of the world!

Working-men's homes (*Cités Ouvrières*), like co-operative societies, are the driftwood of the wreck of the great social movement toward integral association. How far from those ideas of fraternity, solidarity, and harmony constituting the body of doctrines that for nearly twenty years had been cherished by the leaders of social progress!

The words *réformes sociales* were banished from the language, but an apparent interest in the fate of the laboring-classes was maintained; therefore effort was made to improve the condition of laborers. In cities the development of manufacturing had caused cellars and garrets to be converted into infected lodgings, where light, air, and space were more rare than in stables.

We remember the earnest criticisms that this state of things excited from 1830 to 1848. The question embraced not only a social, but a governmental, interest; and the same men who formerly persecuted social ideas busied themselves in making these same ideas serve to increase their own popularity. Therefore they gave attention to plans for bettering the homes of the working-people.

Paris, then, saw erected, in the name of interest in the working-classes, buildings of a certain importance; but the arbitrary rules directing these constructions led to their being called "*casernes ouvrières*" (working-men's barracks). They were repudiated even by those for whom they were built. This failure was one of the first defeats of imperialism on the field of Progress, where no one can advance a step except hand in hand with liberty.

The spirit of despotism dazzles those who abandon themselves to its guidance. They cannot believe but that their patronage may aid the amelioration of the fate of the people. They cannot see that architectural reform in the homes of the laborer can only proceed under the patronage of liberty and independence, and that, without these, fraternal architecture—social architecture—cannot exist.

The support given to reforming working-men's homes by men without principle, and greedy for popularity, was withdrawn as soon as it was seen that it failed to bring the honors expected.

Nothing was to be done now but to repeat the vagaries of the past, only giving them a new varnish. The little old house must be plastered inside, its dilapidated walls must be propped up, and the laborer must be made to see how happy he was in such a home, though the comfort of the palace, the charm of parks and gardens, and the luxuries of life were necessary for the opulent.

It was not fields and space that were thought of in the preparation of these miserable country homes for working-men, but a diminutive house, a diminutive garden of a few square yards, and in this isolation it was pretended that there had been found a safeguard for all domestic virtues!

These efforts did not in any way change the condition of the working-man. There was the same discomfort in the home, and the frequentation of the dram-shop still continued the only amusement in the life of the laborer.

III. WORKING-MEN'S HOUSES.

The same wants and the same sufferings which had been discovered in the lives of the laboring-classes continued to increase, even in certain cities where the development of industry caused an influx of population. In certain important manufacturing centres leaders of industry took up the ques-

tion, for they saw that not only was the health of the laborer compromised but the manufacturing interest as well.

When the working-man is poor and meanly lodged, he is not attached to the workshop or factory, and is disposed to change his residence often, hoping to escape some of the misery that enthralls him. It was, therefore, for the industrial interest to improve the surroundings of the laborer, and thus secure more stability to production.

These circumstances presented propitious conditions for a grand innovation in homes destined for laborers. Labor was concentrated, the factories and workshops were near together. By the side of those edifices serving to store and preserve the implements of labor, and without ceding anything to them in point of elegance of construction, might be erected buildings for keeping workmen also, and for the lodging and comfort of their families.

Such ideas had been discussed for a long time in England and in France, but no one had seriously tried the experiment of a new combination of homes adapted to the wants of great industrial communities.

The construction of working-men's homes had been practised for a long time; but it was confined to the building of indispensable lodgings around manufactories. Public attention had not been much directed to the subject. In England alone had publicity been given to the question of these homes. Mr. Charles Roberts discussed them in his treatise entitled *The Dwellings of the Laboring Classes*. The same facts in France gave rise to many criticisms through the press without being the object of any particular treatise. In truth they were of but slight interest, and not worth a technical description. Architecture has a higher mission than that of repeating the miserable habitations that shelter the human species, and especially that part of the race which creates the riches and the splendors of the world.

The works of MM. Burnet and Villermé, indeed, have treated the condition of the working-class; but they dwell particularly on the wretchedness, the sufferings, of labor, the physical and moral conditions of the laboring-classes. Later MM. Audiganne, Louis Reybaud, Jules Simon, and others, threw new light upon the subject, but they also saw the question from the same point of view.

The distressing pictures that these authors gave of the working-classes were complete enough; but as to the means of positively improving the condition of working-men, and as to the true principles of domestic economy, they were utterly

silent. They gave no suggestion of building ; they made no serious attempt to grasp the subject of salutary reform in our industrial system.

Up to that time a sentiment of reserve had been maintained in France on the subject of the working-men's homes founded in different mining and manufacturing centres. No notice was taken even of the numerous constructions of this kind made by coal companies in the department du Nord, with the simple motive of attracting workmen to the mines. There was no other motive in building these homes. When neighboring villages were found insufficient for the population, or too far from the work, necessity suggested the building of these houses and renting them at low prices in order to have laborers at hand.

The object was the coal mine, not perfecting the home. The agents of mining companies had another duty to perform—that of making the largest possible profit out of the enterprise for the stockholders ; therefore the plans adopted for miners' houses were always of the simplest and cheapest kind possible. They were everywhere such houses as the poorest architect would invent.

Coal mines were often opened in districts where the miner could have only a camp to live in ; villages being so far away or totally insufficient for the new population attracted by the labor. The extension of this industry necessitated the building of houses to accomodate the *personnel* of the mine.

One of the best examples of this kind was that of Grand-Hornu, in Belgium, founded about 1825 by M. Degorge, a man of rare intelligence. To him is due the impulse given to the Belgian coal trade. He conceived the idea of building on that symmetrical plan which long afterward was designated as the working-men's city (*cité ouvrière*).

In the midst of the plain, near the shafts of the mine he had discovered, he laid out squares and parallel streets along which he erected solid, well-constructed, one-story houses. All the streets were well paved.

Grand-Hornu, by its superior dwellings and their good arrangement, realized, from the first, conditions of health and comfort superior to those of the hovels built irregularly along the muddy streets of the old village.

But although this was a broad and intelligent conception, compared with the constructions around coal mines that were made later by companies less thoughtful of the comfort of the laborer, and who built unintelligently and with parsimony, it is not the less true that the first thing we remark about Grand-

Hornu, and that which will forever condemn the *cité ouvrière*—a condemnation which the name itself suggests—is that of the separation of those who create wealth by labor, from those who enjoy it by hazard, by birth, or by speculation.

In fact, Grand-Hornu, despite its advantages, is but a collection of miners' houses. Nothing there indicates the common interest of the wealth of the owners and the labor which created it; and yet, seeing Grand-Hornu, one cannot avoid thinking that if the industrial career of M. Degorge had not been suddenly ended by his death, he would have done something more for his workmen than to better the condition of their dwellings.

Notwithstanding this, Grand-Hornu, as a well-constructed village, has many advantages for its inhabitants—communication is easy between families, and societies for amusement are maintained among the workmen.

Living near the mine, the laborer can get to and from his work without useless fatigue. The primary school is more easy of access for the children than it generally is in villages; but as it is now abandoned to the direction of Ignorantine* monks, the education is not of much account except to show how far it is removed from the conception of the founder of the *cité*. His work is unfinished, and his ideas not probably comprehended by those who have inherited his fortune.

Shortly after the foundation of this remarkable work, the coal industry of the department of the Nord found itself also reduced to the necessity of building dwellings for the workmen. The entire population lived in camps around the mines.

Here also the construction of houses was a measure for uniting the miners near the *fosse*,† in order to secure regularity and economy in labor.

Two rooms on the ground-floor, with a trap-ladder, or a narrow upright staircase leading to the garret, or to the floor above, constitute the miner's dwelling. They are joined together a dozen in a line, and separated by passages. The workmen called them, in Flemish, *corons*, that is, *line of houses*.

The first groups of these houses were built in fields. They were given up to the ordinary habits of those who occupied them; and no thought of foresight or of order concerning domestic economy intervened to effect any change or amelioration in the life of the workman. Nothing was modified in

* *Frères ignorantins*—friars of the St. Yon Congregation. They teach the primary schools.

† *Fosse*—a grave; also the shaft of a mine!—Tr.

his life. He left his dwelling in the village to occupy another, no less miserable in its arrangements, nor in the size of the garden that joined the house or was situated at some distance in neighboring grounds.

They possessed no attraction. For twenty years these habitations grew, no one supposing they were of any real benefit to the working-classes. Time and use, and perhaps also the parsimony of their owners, gave to many of these *corons* a more miserable aspect than that of the less crowded rural homes of the poor.

By cheap rents the coal-companies could induce workmen to live near the mine. This cheapness became a habit, then a necessity; for the miner came to consider cheap rent as a part of his wages. This was an obstacle in the way of improvement, for by this fact the builder studied the means to construct houses at the least possible expense, ignoring those conditions of comfort to which the human being aspires; therefore the *corons* built to-day are like those built yesterday, and such as these will be built to-morrow, until the relations of capital and labor are changed, and companies are formed with a broader conception of what should be done for the laborer.

There are, however, some few exceptions. The great success of certain companies induced them to be more generous in building working-men's homes. For example, the company of Anzin, which commenced its first homes in 1828, has now more than two thousand, and is increasing them all the time. Thus the city of Denain is growing up. The working-men's houses here are built on parallel streets crossing at right angles. These houses constitute the greater part of the city, and have greatly contributed to give the population its present importance.

In 1830 Denain had only one thousand five hundred inhabitants. It has now nearly twelve thousand. The working-men's houses hold two-thirds of this population.

The motive, as we have said, that led to the construction of these homes in the department of the Nord was not a sociologic one. The builders did not think of progress or reform. They only obeyed a necessity. It was an advantage for the companies from the first, but this agglomeration of houses did nothing to increase the welfare of the laborer.

Each family carried there the habits contracted in isolation. Manure-heaps, garbage, dirty water increased with the number of houses. Masses of workmen abandoned to themselves can do little to improve their condition. What is needed is an administration sufficiently intelligent to organize hygienic

measures for exterior cleanliness which the population is incapable of effecting. This administration should also know how to order the domestic economy in the matter of supplying the necessities of living, and to direct the education and training of children.

As soon as companies turn their attention to this subject, the evils incident to the concentration of laborers abandoned to themselves disappear. Thus, as soon as the company of Anzin founded institutions of public utility, the physical and moral condition of their workmen were ameliorated.

The arrangements for health and cleanliness about the cottages, and other public services, were put in charge of a police system under the direction of the company; and a wise supervision in the interest of the people was maintained.

Common schools and infant schools were established and regularly attended by the children. A school of design was instituted for the more promising pupils. From this time the *corons* became worthy of attention.

The intellectual and moral standard, no less than the comfort and convenience of laboring populations, rises in proportion to the amount of the profits of production devoted to the foundation of institutions for the general good.

The *corons* of Denain became comfortable habitations for workmen's families, while in other places these agglomerations presented a miserable aspect, and the inhabitants suffered from the neglect to which they were abandoned.

IV. THE MULHOUSE VILLAGES.

A practical experiment of thirty years in little homes for working-men ought to be sufficient to enable us to judge of the value of the working-men's cities (*Cités Ouvrières*). It was time to try something in another way, but facts are insufficient where self-interest directs and science is lacking.

As working-men's homes in Paris had failed, popular patronage must try experiments in some other quarter. The industrial centres of the East furnished the opportunity, and the little isolated houses there were the consequence. To these public attention was directed, as to a new fashion.

Men, animated by some desire to ameliorate the condition of working-men, took the initiative and distinguished themselves at Mulhouse, at Guebviller and Colmar. The Mulhouse villages were founded by a subsidy of 300,000 francs

granted by the head of the government.¹ But in taking up the question of the homes for the working-classes, was there any thought of architectural improvement, whereby conditions could be introduced into the domestic economy and transform the laborer's manner of living?

Was the home to be anything more than two or three rooms, void of everything that renders life comfortable, of everything that conduces to the pleasures and charms of life? Or was there any design to unite, in some new conception of building, the conditions for health and cleanliness, and the means to render the essentials of life accessible to all? Was there any thought of combining in the home those improvements which science and labor have evolved for the comfort of man? Was there any study to so arrange these little houses that all things of general and public use would be equally accessible to the inhabitants? To realize such progress in architecture as would give permanently to the working-class those common means of ease and enjoyment which wealth alone can insure?

To secure this, indeed, it was necessary to steer clear of the mistakes of routine, and by new effort to bind labor to the factory. It was necessary to make innovations; to break away from the chain of habit binding us to the past, and invent homes different from those built in such complete ignorance of the true architectural conditions demanded by social progress.

But the problem was not stated in such a broad manner, though they gave to these dwellings the importance of a social question.

In the report made to the Industrial Society of Mulhouse on the studies of the project we read:

"That which has specially guided us in the choice of the plan we submit to-day is the desire, which you share with us, to ameliorate in a notable manner the condition of laborers in the city and in the country, for the kind of dwellings that we propose is not less adapted to one than to the other. If, in the country, the buildings have the advantage of being isolated, we know that they are often badly arranged and wanting in cleanliness, light, and pure air.

"The convenience and the cleanliness of the lodging have a greater influence than might be at first supposed upon the morality and the well-being of the family. He who finds on entering his home a miserable place, disorderly and dirty,

¹ Napoleon III.

where he breathes a nauseous and unhealthy atmosphere, cannot possibly be at his ease, and is glad to exchange it for the alehouse during most of the time that he has to dispose of. Thus his home is almost a stranger to him, and he soon contracts sad habits of expense greatly to the detriment of his family, which nearly always comes to want. If we can offer to these same men clean and attractive homes, if we give to each man a little garden, where he will find an agreeable and useful occupation, where, awaiting his modest harvest, he will learn to appreciate at its just value that instinct of property that Providence has implanted within us, shall we not have solved in a satisfactory manner one of the most important problems of social economy? Shall we not have contributed to strengthen the sacred bonds of the family, and have rendered a true service to that interesting class, our laborers, and to society itself?"

This extract indicates broader intentions than the plan proposed warrants. It is very difficult to comprehend how a habitation six metres* wide and five and a quarter long—a space, too, out of which must be taken the cellar and chamber-stairs, could be presented as a model for a city and also a country residence! Such a lodging might be offered as suitable for a very limited family, but not for the ordinary one of laborers.

Two young married people are more comfortable in a single room than a family of six would be in these small houses; and for a more numerous family they must be signally inadequate.

The model dwelling should accommodate itself to the increase of the family and yet give nothing useless.

Again, is it not also difficult to understand how a garden twelve metres wide, road to house included, with an average length of twelve metres, situated on the street, enclosed by a simple picket-fence and in full view of all passers-by, could afford the complement of happiness for the resident of the proposed dwellings?

We have just seen the influence that working-men's homes may exert, in examining those of the coal mines of the Nord and of Grand Hornu. Their plan is in no way inferior to that of the Mulhouse dwellings; on the contrary, most of the former are very superior in convenience and salubrity.

At Mulhouse, while crying up the isolated home, the projectors of the plan gravely compromised the individual liberty

*The metre is a trifle more than three feet: 3 feet 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—Tr.

of families. The houses were not independent dwellings, but, on the contrary, dwellings arranged for the convenience of the neighbor; four houses in one, and none of them receiving air and light except in front and at the upper part of one end wall.

Each lodging had its own stairs leading to the chamber-floor or garret; but half of all the walls were common, and of course there was no ventilation through these. A large number of the dwellings of the Nord and those of Grand-Hornu have the advantage of Mulhouse in opening front and back. They have two rooms on the ground-floor and two above; two lighted from the street and two from the garden which is behind. This arrangement secures ample light and ventilation—advantages wanting in the Mulhouse dwellings. Thirty years' experience has proven that the working-men's villages of Grand-Hornu and the *corons* of the Nord serve simply the needs of the manufactory.

It is useless to nurse any illusions with regard to the value of working-men's villages. It is not on these that the legitimate honors of the founders of the cities of Mulhouse, and of other industrial centres, depend.

In founding the working-men's cities at Mulhouse, as elsewhere, the force of circumstances was obeyed. Lodgings had become scarce in districts where industry assumed proportions that outsped the vigilance of speculators in house-renting. There was then great necessity for doing something about the housing of workmen; but there was no thought of building better houses, but rather those of the cheapest kind—plain lodgings built in lines on straight streets and avoiding the aspect of the poor quarter of a city.

There was a notable difference between the management of the coal companies of the Nord and the manufacturing companies of the east in disposing of the houses they built for workmen. In the department of the Nord they never sold them, but rented them at low prices; and therefore held control of any changes that they thought proper to introduce.

Many motives induced the Mulhouse company to take another course. They thought it best to attract the workmen by selling them the houses that they had erected. Thus they would bring thrifty laborers into the district, and with the capital of the sales build new houses without increasing the capital stock.

They were wrong in thinking this project of making the workmen an owner was a social panacea and a powerful moral agent. Did they not exaggerate the importance of this meas-

ure? Will it not some day give rise to serious difficulties in consequence of the conditions attached to the sale?

The future will show. Meanwhile the companies have found out that they must make the buying laborer only a partial owner, or they run the risk of seeing their working-men's village modified and transformed in all sorts of ways.

To avoid this last inconvenience they attached the following conditions to the sale:

To make no changes in the buildings.

To keep the garden in good condition, and to erect no new building upon it.

To not resell nor sublet for ten years, etc.

These are certainly very serious restrictions for a proprietor, and greatly diminish the romance of the idea of owning a little house.

If "to use and to abuse" holds as a definition of ownership, we must admit that the Mulhouse workmen are hardly owners; and still it was necessary to make these restrictions or the order and arrangement of the village would have been upset.

If the workmen had been free proprietors, we should very soon have seen built close to the houses more than one pigsty and rabbit-house, and the *gardenet** would have been made to serve as a depository for manure-heaps to fertilize gardens rented outside the village. Speculation would have been introduced into the bosom of the village, and some of the proprietors, converting the actual house into a stable, would have built shops, billiard-rooms, etc., on the street.

These are difficulties inherent in isolation and parcelling which to have always avoided would have been difficult.

It would be difficult to prevent the owner in all cases from disposing of his property as he pleased, and then the symmetry of the dwellings would be seriously compromised and the workman's village present a very confused appearance.

The idea, then, of attaching the laborer to real estate on the Mulhouse system has its difficulties.

The effort to inculcate a taste for economy in the laborer, by making him an owner, is certainly a laudable one; but the Mulhouse scheme succeeded but imperfectly in attaining its object because it was addressed only to the small number of workmen to whom saving is possible. Workmen who have families to support, and who earn barely enough to live on,

* *Gardenet*—a little bit of a garden. We take the liberty to coin a word.—Tr.

are deprived of the advantage, and yet these are the vast majority and those who most need the conditions for moral improvement.

Admitting, for an instant, that among the many motives that govern man the instinct of possessing has the greatest power to guide him in the way of right and duty, we must admit that this instinct is without efficacy for him who has not the power to acquire property ; therefore, as to the real amelioration of the lot of the laborer, the expedient of small tenements owned by the workmen failed in its object.

But have we not innumerable examples where the ownership of property has not sufficed to make men moral and worthy ? How many dissipate their inheritance or make a bad use of what they acquire ? How many in whom the instinct of possessing is a blind feeling to which they sacrifice every social virtue ? Property is not, then, a talisman against disorder nor a gauge of private virtue. The love of wealth, alas ! is too strong a passion in men ; it is better to lead them to love their fellow-men.

That those who have amassed a fortune, and who have plenty of gold in their coffers, should desire to increase their hoards by new economies, especially when they can do so without trouble to themselves, is easy to understand ; and also that they should imagine that economy may become a passion with the laborer. We are prone to believe that others have the same tendencies as ourselves.

The idea of tempting the instinct of saving with the offer of a pretty little house of course found many partisans. How many persons have no higher ambition ! A nice little house, all neat and tidy ; a nice little garden. This is the ideal of those who live in dirty, ill-built houses, though they may have the necessities of life and something laid by besides ; but for those who have hardly enough to support life, the wants of the body command. Those who have scarcely bread enough for to-day think only of securing bread for to-morrow. Don't talk to them of saving money, but offer them the means of living, and living decently, by the fruits of their labor. Don't ask of these outcasts of fortune to create again the wealth necessary to their relief. This wealth exists ; labor has already produced it a hundred fold. Apply it with intelligence and consistently with the laws of life.

The cities of Mulhouse merit attention far less for their working-men's homes than for the institutions for the benefit of the people which accompany them.

Courses of lectures, schools, asylums, *crèches*,* easy of access to all the families ; wash-houses, bath-houses, swimming-baths, clean streets and side-walks ; the suppression of parasites, etc ; soup-houses, restaurants, groceries ; putting all that is necessary to life out of the reach of commercial fraud—these are true tendencies toward association which honor the experiments made at Mulhouse and other industrial centres where large unconcentrated bodies of laborers have called for these institutions.

Without these institutions the working-men's villages of the East would present no interest ; they would hardly be worthy of note except for the parsimony shown in the construction of the houses.

But a more effective protection yet remains to be accomplished for the emancipation of the working-classes ; and, despite these examples, everything yet remains to be done in the field of architectural reform in the homes of human beings.

* *Crèche*—literally a manger. The name is applied to institutions recently established in many places in France and other countries for the convenience of working-women, who can leave their children there for an hour or as long as they choose at a very moderate cost, and with the certainty that the children will be properly attended to. It was formerly applied solely to foundling hospitals.—Tr.

PART SECOND.

CHAPTER XI.

PUBLIC MORALS.

I. THE GENIUS OF EVIL.

THE political troubles that interrupted the course that the new ideas were taking, prevented the spread of the doctrine of the rights of labor, and completely prostrated the social energies of France.

This political enervation of the country exercised a great influence upon the minds of men. To some the hope of social progress appeared only a dream, and the only thing real, the present sad condition ; to others it became more than ever evident, despite the new ideas given to the world, that there was no sovereign principle of moral law to guide the mind. The ship of progress was threatened with moral and social wreck, as well as political.

The humanitarian sentiment that for a quarter of a century had taken so many forms in the minds of innovators and their disciples, was darkly eclipsed. The formulæ :

“To each according to his capacity ;”

“To each capacity according to its production ;”

“To each according to his wants ;”

“All for each, each for all,”

were discarded from general consideration. You heard no more the formula : “The object of social institutions should be the greatest good to the greatest number ;” still less the statement of the problem of the organization of labor and its association with capital.

The study of the fundamental principles of social and moral order was abandoned almost entirely. The question was to find *palliatives* for the abuses and mistakes of the present—to teach the people to be patient with poverty!

So things went on, if not by design, at least by the force of circumstances.

Labor continued to produce wealth and to be robbed of its advantages.

Labor produced all that makes life agreeable ; the laborer's life passed amid the ills of poverty.

Labor continued its unremitting tasks, deprived, as ever, of the solace of rest.

Labor augmented day by day its productive forces by concentrating them, while the laborer remained in isolation and neglect.

Labor built grand factories and magnificent palaces, while the laborer still lived in hovels, or at least in habitations deprived of all the graces that Taste, Science, and Architecture have added to the attractions of home. Often his lodging barely sufficed to hold his crowded family.

More than ever labor needed the advantages of science ; yet the education of the people was the last object of our public institutions.

Private attempts, here and there, to improve instruction only brought into clearer relief the difficulties which surround education and tend to keep the people in the most profound ignorance.

Yet notwithstanding all discouragements, the illusions of men with generous aspirations have not been destroyed. Seeing people of all nations uniting at world's fairs in the peaceful competition of skill ; seeing the great progress made in international relations ; seeing French, English, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Russians, mingling at railroad stations, hotels, and restaurants ; seeing the general intercourse between nations—international peace seems a fact accomplished.

The friends of liberty, of peace, and progress, might well believe that if social fraternity had not yet found expression, the progress of industry and commerce was at least the great peace-maker which would establish fraternity between nations and peoples.

They might well believe that as all avenues of progress were opened to industry, the well-being of the people through labor would be developed, and the intellectual progress of the masses be assured through science brought within reach of all.

They forgot the two forces that dispute the government of the world : Despotism and Liberty.

Despotism maintains itself by the enslavement of free thought and by war.

Liberty, on the contrary, conquers the world by education and by industry.

Until liberty shall have conquered despotism, war will continue to annul the blessings of industry, and to be the ruin and the curse of nations.

But despotism still reigns upon the earth because the ignorance of the people is great.

It is the interest of despotism to subject man to the hard conditions of unremitting toil, that he may, therefore, endure the fatigues of war with resignation ; to keep him in ignorance of true justice, that he may remain insensible to the horrors of the most outrageous crime that human reason can conceive—the *crime of war* !

This is why despotism has always been opposed to the education of the people, even in the midst of civilization, whose conquests are always those of mind over matter.

The education of the people is contrary to governments whose principle is force, and which hold the mass of human beings as mere tools, to be used as they see fit.

The education of the people is the signal for their sovereignty ; and a sovereign and educated people, inspired by the interests of labor and the prosperity of nations, would banish despotism and the spirit of war, and inaugurate liberty and peace, through the federation of the world.

But for this end we must discover the moral law that condemns despotism and war. This law must show to all eyes the execrable evils caused by war and despotism, and show them in such a light that even despots themselves will recoil with horror at the sight.

II. WAR.

It was 1854. The horizon of peace was clouded in the Crimea, and Europe soon became conscious that the Spirit of War was brewing future evils for the nations.

Under I know not what influence of the distant thunders of war, in the vision of carnage and bloodshed, the Spirit of War rose before me—the hideous spectre from which the evils of humanity proceed.

I saw War, the genius of destruction, in a death-struggle with Labor, the genius of production ; War, the genius of death, struggling with Labor, the genius of life.

I saw War destroying Labor and crippling the liberty of nations, while the humanity of the past stood before me and

unrolled the long scroll of the martyrdom of labor under the yoke of force and ignorance.

In this vision all the frightful consequences of war were unveiled before me—hideous details of its awful history.

War, the license to commit all crimes with impunity!

War, the history of all the monstrosities of which man is capable—the brutal expression of all his baser instincts lashed into fury!

War, the history of authorized theft and pillage upon the earth and upon the sea; the glory of murderers, corsairs, and pirates; the licence of privateering, the robbing of merchantmen, the sinking of ships; the annihilation of commerce and exchange; the state of siege, the suspension of law; force imposing ransoms, extorting requisitions, and all possible vexations.

War is the devastation and the ruin of nations—robbery, pillage, the burning of cities and villages.

War is the history of the sacrifice of innocent people—of women outraged, of children tortured, of entire populations put to the sword and cut in pieces. War is the history of all horrible murders, of every unspeakable violence, of every excess of wickedness that has cursed the earth. It is the basest perversion of common sense, the negation of every human right, the overturning of society, and the annihilation of all the conquests of progress.

War is the scourge under which societies sink from ruin to ruin, through upholding all the subversive aberrations of which man is subject. It is the degradation of morality and religion—not simply those religions that prostitute their principles by asking benediction upon the instruments of carnage, and singing hymns of glory to God after the burial of the corpses, but it violates the *living religion of humanity*!

War corrupts all manners, overthrows all ideas of justice, of truth, of the rights of labor and property.

War is treason against humanity—a hideous cancer that should be extirpated by the nations of the earth.

War can never have a just cause—defensive war, even, is provoked by the despotic aggression of a neighbor, by the violation of acquired rights, or by those of natural rights unacknowledged. It is answering wrong with wrong, crime with crime.

War could never occur except that the idea of a universal moral law is yet unknown in the world.

The horrible violation of human life by war should alone suffice to show that those principles of a higher morality,

which ought to rule men charged with the government of nations, are completely unknown.

Does morality exist simply to induce the wealthy to give alms to those who are starving, or to recommend those who have nothing to respect the goods of their neighbors?

Does morality exist simply to protect individuals from violence and homicide?

Is it not also the mission of morality to teach *the sacred rights of labor to the possessors of wealth?*

Is it not the mission of morality to teach kings the inviolability of human life before the law?

It is counted a crime to attempt the life of a man, or to rob him of his own; but oh! shame to humanity, it is not counted a crime for kings to set men to murdering each other by hundreds of thousands to gratify the monstrous iniquity of their pride or their ambition!

What! Women forsaken, mothers mourning, children without bread, families reduced to wretchedness and misery, calamities of all kinds—can all these be wrought by man except as the result of an execrable crime?

Shall fields be ravaged, villages destroyed, cities dismantled, industry ruined, labor suspended, the wealth of countries dispersed, and not provoke the anathema of nations against those who are the cause?

Shall not all the blood that is shed, all the limbs amputated, all the human forms mutilated, all the horrid spectacles of human carnage, call down upon despotism and war the execration and the malediction of Eternal Justice?

What are we to think of Morality and of human laws, if all the miseries that war entails upon the people bring not down upon the authors of these evils the most fearful of expiations?

The Creator has clearly pronounced an anathema upon war by the evils it inevitably causes to peoples and to nations.

For the makers of war—this basest treason against Humanity—expiation is subordinate to the Living Moral Law; and in the pillory of divine justice they must suffer the degradation that is reserved for them in this life; for they deceive themselves who think that all human acts do not find their equilibrium before the bar eternal of Nature. No real good that man may accomplish will go unrecompensed, no real evil unexpiated. Each one rises by reason of the good he does, and each one sinks in proportion to the evil with which his life is laden.

This is the true Moral Law that must be taught to Despotism as well as to all Humanity.

III. NECESSITY OF A PRINCIPLE.

So long as the principle of morality is unknown to man, so long will society continue to suffer the consequences of disobedience to natural law.

In countenancing evil we countenance the source of evil, and by so doing give to despotism and every tyranny the support necessary to keep the people in error.

While war is honored, morality has no foundation ; for a morality which honors evil is a perversion of common sense—it is a perversion of the human conscience.

Morality is absolute ; it can have only good for its object. True morality can only exist through an eternal, invariable principle—the common interest of humanity. This principle is not simply one that appeals to the reason, but it is one that is incontestable in its very nature, and obvious to every one.

This principle of morality should teach us the consequence of every deed, and give us the power to weigh all human actions in such a way as to justify or condemn them.

If such a principle did not exist, good and evil would be but chimeras ; the highest virtues would not be distinguishable from the lowest vices ; tyranny would be as noble as liberty ; despotism as legitimate as popular sovereignty, liberty no more rational than servitude, force as lawful as reason ; peace, union, and the fraternity of nations no more righteous than war and carnage instigated by the ambition of despots ; all human legislation would be based upon arbitrary rule ; might would make right ; the art of corrupting the judgment would be duty ; the might of force would be justice.

It is not thus. *Good and evil are not the same thing.*

Thus nature inspires us with the sentiment of a principle that aids us in our weakness and ennobles all human effort. Hence it is that man has always sought in a cause superior to himself a common law, a supreme rule of right, of duty, and of justice.

Religions have presented God to man as this principle and this cause, but none of them has revealed the bond that unites man to God, or to the moral law derived from universal principle.

Hence all conceivable errors and wrongs are perpetrated in the name of God ; the most varying doctrines have been professed, and the idea of deity has only served to make arbitrary rules for mankind, almost always out of harmony with Right, with Duty, and the sense of Justice implanted in humanity.

The law to be discovered, then, is this great law of Right, of Duty, and of Justice, to which all must submit and which the strongest should be the first to obey. The morality to be established is *universal morality*, the morality for the great as well as the small—the morality of humanity, which should unite not separate mankind, which should protect the weak not sacrifice them, which should inspire those in power with the desire to preserve men and not to destroy them.

I sought in vain this principle of morality in all the philosophies and in all the religions ; still more vainly I looked for it in human laws. Everywhere I found nothing but despair confronting the great crimes of the world.

Seeing this state of uncertainty in the human mind, living in the midst of the humanity that I love, seeing the country that I love ignorant of the law of morality, I returned to the sphere of principle, and asked myself if there existed a natural, invariable criterion of Right, Duty, and Justice—a criterion that all philosophical systems had as signally failed to discover as had all the systems of religion ; and, seeing that the true principle of morality was not known among men, I sought its formula before yielding to the inspirations that had often moved me in the past.

I not only inquired as to the destiny of man, but also as to the law of his development, the end for which he was created.

CHAPTER XII

OUTLINES OF A SYSTEM.

I. HUMANITY AND ITS LAW.

FROM the heights where I placed myself in my search for the Law of Morality, my survey embraced the world. I contemplated the habitations of man grouped together over the surface of the earth, generally in valleys, or on the borders of streams; and looking back through the ages, I saw the same mean dwellings of men wearing away by the action of time, being built anew by the hand of man, and I saw that in the same places where men were born they grew and died.

To what end?

Humanity, actuated everywhere by the same restless spirit of activity, labored, labored forever as if predestined to toil. Activity is necessary to man; labor is indispensable, and yet the laborer suffers, while labor itself is debased, unappreciated, reviled even, by those who enjoy its benefits!

And I asked myself if there was not in this the greatest indifference to the laws of nature and of human development that man could show.

I saw despots and tyrants, in their ignorance and wickedness, forcing men from their peaceful productive labor and leading them forth into the mad contests of war. I saw the products of labor destroyed, cities and villages sacked, and the people reduced to the meagre resources of uncultivated lands under the most wretched conditions of servitude, poverty, and misery. Continually they began their work over again with the same ardor, striving to recover the good that was lost. Is it not then in labor, I asked, that man finds his highest law? Is not labor the basis of justice in humanity? And a Voice within me replied:

Listen. Labor is holy, thrice holy. Through it man reaches the practical realization of justice, since it is the production of those things which are necessary to Life, and of which there should be an equitable use and a just distribution.

Labor, being the principle of production, distribution, and

consumption, is one phase of the Law, but not the whole law. The labor question has a thousand by-paths or issues in which men may be hopelessly lost for a long time, unless guided by the Sovereign Law of Humanity.

What then, I ask, is this sovereign Law? The Voice within answered, *It is LIFE.*

Life is the Law of Laws—the highest law of all creatures, of humanity, and of the universe. Human life is but a fraction from the infinite fund of Universal Life.

Man accomplishes his destiny, then, by simply living, I said; but what is the law of morality? What is life, and from whence does it proceed?

Man, replied the Voice, cannot live without activity. Activity is labor, and labor is production, the sustenance of life. Man accomplishes his destiny when he does all that he can for the greatest good of Life; for then he employs all his forces for the benefit of his kind as well as for himself.

II. THE INFINITE.

Again I was silent. My heart seemed opened to a new light, my being identified with the infinite.

The Voice continued: You are not satisfied with knowing the law of man's being, you would even comprehend the principle of life itself; but man should first learn the object of his mission upon the earth, as the most pressing and the most useful thing he can know.

The comprehension of the Infinite is above human ken, he can only have a vague notion of it, and human languages are still more impotent to express the idea than the intelligence of man is to conceive it. Words are but imperfect symbols of thought, and their value is constantly changed according to the sense in which they are taken.

The comprehension of existence in general can only be acquired by effort of the intelligence. Man should learn to know himself before he tries to fathom the Infinite. He should commence by studying the law that governs him; above all should he understand and respect the Laws of Life. These laws he can learn; though first causes and the Infinite escape his grasp. Still it is important that man should study the unity of the laws governing his being, with those of the Infinite. Follow me, then, since you desire to study these profound problems.

III. THE PRINCIPLE OF THINGS.

The universal principle of all things is existence. Its elements or attributes are :

Mind, life, matter. The elements or attributes of these are time, motion, space.

Mind directs, life acts, matter obeys. Time measures, motion transforms, space encloses.

Mind and time are attributes of Existence.

Life and motion are attributes of Action.

Matter and space are attributes of Condition.

These eternal attributes of Infinite Being are, for finite beings, different spheres of existence, action, condition ; for finite beings are but modes of life of Infinite Being.

The attributes of organisms vary in all the spheres of the Infinite.

In organisms in which substance predominates matter is sensitive, life weak, mind almost null.

In the higher organisms, life rises, substance is finer, mind becomes active.

In organisms in which mind predominates life is active, substance subtle, matter disappears.

Man emerges from matter especially. Life for him is the eternal bond of substance and mind, space and time.

IV. LIFE THE SUPREME LAW.

Throughout the universe, Life and intelligence united act upon matter.

Life is the organic function of Infinite Being, of which every individual existence is a part.

The end and object of every existence, be it a world or an insect, is Life—every existence being one of the metamorphoses of the Universal Life.

The human being is bound to universal being by the mind, by life, and by substance. He is subordinate to time by the duration of his existence on the earth, to movement by his activity, and to space by his place and function in life.

But the Infinite has profound mysteries into which thought can penetrate, though it cannot grasp entirely, still less explain them. Life is the side most palpable to thought, for it

is to the Work of Life that man owes his direct participation in the Infinite.

The creature is made for life. Herein lies the mystery of each existence.

Humanity has no other mission upon the planet save that of making life prosperous and fruitful. Life is its first law.

By life man raises matter to active substance, and active substance to intelligence. Hence the most obscure human life is worthy of the respect of all men.

In humanity, the coefficient of life is labor. Life and labor are the supreme law of man, for *life and labor are one*.

Man has life wherein to labor; and labor is to accomplish the Law of Life.

Labor gives the superiority of man over the brute—of the civilized over the savage; but the superiority acquired by labor is the conquest that man makes for his own position in life, while at the same time his labor secures the progress of humanity.

By labor man makes himself the collaborator of nature. He fructifies everywhere the products of life by the transformation of matter, by the cultivation of the earth, by the care and utilization of animals, and by his own culture and that of his kind.

Labor is the means by which man unites matter to mind and stimulates it to movement and activity. Labor assimilates matter with organic, instinctive, and intellectual life. It accumulates the results of thought and intelligence for the happiness and growth of future generations upon the earth. This is the problem of human life.

Labor, accomplished through the love of benefiting our fellow-beings, is the noblest part of man in the drama of life.

Knowledge of the principle of things, then, leads man to understand the Law of Life and of labor; the law of his destiny; the supreme law that he should study and observe, and through which he can rise unerringly to knowledge of higher truths.

Light dawned upon my mind. This is a truth, I said, so self-evident that it has passed unnoticed up to this time.

Man is created for the work of life. This is the explanation of the enigma of the apparent uselessness of certain beings. In the midst of the errors and miseries where we see mankind, it is not perhaps surprising that we hardly yet comprehend humanity in its most fortunate phases. How, then, shall we understand the rôle, the object of the existence of beings who find nothing but pain and wretchedness on the

earth, people debased by their ignorance and their primitive poverty, if material life be not good in itself?

Why are there Kaffirs and Hottentots? Esquimaux living in caverns dug in the snow? What is the use of people who from their beginning have passed their miserable existences hunting the bear, or waiting on the ice for the chance of spearing a fish, almost their only food, as the bear-skin is their principal garment.

Again, in the midst of civilized society, why so many victims of political tyranny and social despotism? If Life be the law of humanity, is there not also some higher law of Harmony by which the hard fate of these beings may find a compensation?

Shall they who create all the wealth of the world for those who rob them of its enjoyment, remain always inferior to their oppressors?

Would there be any possible explanation were they not useful to Life itself, and if the part they take in life were not a preparation for another rôle, in which they will enjoy liberty and compensation for all they have been deprived of in this phase of their existence?

But this other life, what is it? While waiting for the enthronement of justice in the world what place has Eternal Justice prepared for man in the life beyond the hard fate of this one?

Let thy heart and thy mind be satisfied, said the Voice. Thy soul is now about to penetrate the secret of life beyond the world of matter!

And with the eyes of the body I saw on one side the field of man's hard labor upon the earth, and upon the other, with the eyes of the mind I beheld the spectacle of superior existences.

I saw human activity transformed in the bosom of the invisible substance of space, and I comprehended that it accomplished a new work of life proportioned to the terrestrial merits that it had won.

The continuity of life became evident to me. I saw with the eyes of the soul that virtues and good deeds, accumulated by man in the progress of the material life, are the wealth that each adds to the treasures of the higher life.

I saw the aureole of the righteous man, resplendent with his love and respect for the Law of Life: His path was illuminated by the progress he had made on the earth in the work of benefiting humanity.

And I saw further that the absence of these virtues and

good deeds caused regrets and poverty in the higher life among those whose progress in life had been retarded.

With the eyes of the soul I embraced the glorious spectacle in which man participated, obedient to the sovereign law of the Infinite, and my heart was filled with a sacred love : animated by a strong desire to teach men devotion to the Supreme Law.

And the voice continued : Twenty centuries ago the Gaul had his cot which sheltered him from the inclemencies of the weather. He killed animals to eat their flesh, and clothed himself with their skins. He ploughed the earth and gathered his harvests. The cows in the pastures supplied him with milk and cheese. The wool of sheep, the flax that he grew, provided the yarn and thread to weave or sew his garments. All this simply to live. Generations succeeded generations, repaired dilapidated dwellings, worked the soil anew, recommencing the incessant toil that their posterity will recommence again in its turn.

Why ? Simply to live—to support life. Every year a certain number dies ; children are born and take their places, and thus the races through the ages are perpetuated. Why ? To continue the support of life.

Thus from the beginning of the world there exists in the same places populations which have employed their forces unceasingly to feed, lodge, clothe and reproduce themselves.

Methods of labor improve by the development of ideas, but the end remains the same—to *live*, for the progress of man and the continuance of life. Yet this work is not a sterile one. Man is the interpreter of nature. His function is to aid the development and the progress of life from the world of matter ; and by labor he is called to regenerate and advance thought for his own advancement and for the good of humanity.

Life is, then, a principle and an end, a task and a mission. Life is the law of every being and of every creature. Life is the Supreme Law of Humanity.

No creature has received so generously as man the means of co-operating with Life ; therefore life is not imposed upon him simply as a fate to which he must submit, but also as being the basis of laws that he must take as guides to physical, intellectual, and moral order.

V. CRITERION OF GOOD AND EVIL.

Life, everywhere and always ; life, the cause, object, and end of human existence ; life, the law of the individual ; life, the law of society ; life, the law of peoples and nations ; life, the law of humanity ; life, the law of the globe ; life, the law of the universe and of Infinity.

Life, in fact, is the criterion of good and evil applicable to every condition of being ; the criterion so long sought by sages and philosophers ; the principle and the moral law of political and social order, and at the same time the beacon to guide each in the way of virtue ; for the law of life of every species is the good of the species. For man, the good is all that which is in accord with human life. Evil is all that is opposed to human life.

I comprehended the law of good and evil in all things and everywhere ; that good is in harmony with the wants of life and evil in discord with these wants ; that human law is only legitimate when it protects the free expression of life in humanity, in society and in the individual ; that life, the supreme law, has its secondary laws, and that the human creature ought to learn to know and obey them ; that man transgresses the laws of life when he opposes any obstacle either through himself or others, to the natural course of the functions of life.

The voice of the spirit continued :

Man, who puts this question to you when you retire within yourself : *What is the end of my existence ?*

You have the reply : *The end of my existence is Life.* Yes, the existence of the creature is a tribute that he pays to the universal life. Look over all nature, from the insect up to man. See how every living thing moves and acts unceasingly ; and why ? To gather grain by grain their subsistence : *To live, to raise matter up to the life condition.*

Hope, then, little child, your mother gives you her breast to preserve life in you while you develop and progress, equilibrating and harmonizing your forces by the use you make of life. Therefore, to always preserve, develop, and equilibrate the life in and around you, will be the supreme law. All your acts will count for you according to the value they add to life itself.

Console yourself, child of the people, you who make your entrance into the world by the rough roads of toil ; your place is marked in the scale of the being which rises forever ;

for not only will you find instruction in the hard bread that you eat, but by labor you will transform matter and render it useful. You will till the fields and enrich them, making them produce a hundred-fold for the benefit of the life of humanity and for the future emancipation of your brothers.

This is your rôle, child of the people, in the progression of eternal "life."

And you, men of genius, men of secret mental toil, devoted, sacrificing personal aims, the future is before you radiant with consolation, for the progress that humanity will realize through you will be your glory in the future.

And you, the pampered ones of this world, who pass your existence in assimilating in your corporeal alembic the products of the labor of your brothers, try to make your brain evolve some useful thought, for your existence also is inscribed in the book of universal Life.

Everything counts as a part of the movement of universal life where each is classed according to the value his works bring to life itself.

Everything for life, everything by life ; this is the universal criterion that henceforth must guide humanity.

The object of life is of more consequence than the passions that sway us. The perpetual renewal of the struggle of our humanity is not interrupted by the insignificant facts of individual lives. The movement that is universal and unceasing is the law of life accomplished on the earth ; the law of supporting and developing, accumulating forever in humanity the forces of a new life, asserting itself at intervals by works that push man forward in the road of progress and tend toward the establishment of harmony on the earth. These works are the glory of mankind ; the element of his progress in the eternity of life, at the same time they are steps gained toward his present enfranchisement and the inauguration of his liberty.

VI. PRIMORDIAL LAWS.

The Voice continued.

You now understand that the great law of the universe is Life. But listen further. This Supreme and Universal Law has three coefficients, which in their turn are the Primordial laws of Man, Society, Humanity. These are :

The law of the preservation, the support, and the continuance of Human Life.

The law of Development, Progress, and Perfection of Human Life ;

The Law of Equilibrium, Accord, and Harmony of Human Life.

These laws, with the Supreme Law of Life, constitute the sovereign primordial laws of the individual, of society, and of humanity entire. They command the respect of the individual, of society, and of nations, by giving them the mission of supporting, developing, and equilibrating Life in the individual, in society, in humanity throughout the Earth !

THE SUPREME LAW OF LIFE GOVERNS ALL LAW.

It is the law of the individual and that of the species as well ; consequently it imposes upon the species their preservation, development, and equilibrium.

But the law of life is not simply the law of the individual and of the species ; it is also the general and universal law from which results the solidarity of the individual and the species, with the universe.

Man, then, to avoid infringing the supreme law of his existence, should carefully attend to the preservation, development, and equilibrium of his own life and also that of his kind in order to live a fuller and grander life. The end of life is progress—the development of life generally upon the earth, thus aiding the equilibrium of universal life to which each individual is tributary.

Such is, summarily stated, the immovable basis of the moral law of humanity, so long sought for by all liberal thinkers, by all men animated by the love of humanity.

This grave problem of human life, so obscured up to this time, is as simple as are all the great problems of nature : *the science of God is the simplicity of means.*

VII. RIGHT, DUTY, AND JUSTICE.

From the necessity of preserving, developing, and harmonizing life, we derive notions of Right, Duty, and Justice.

There is no right without duty, no duty without right ; and rights and duties are subordinate to Justice. Justice is the Equilibrium of Right and Duty.

Right has specially for its basis matter and the law of preservation ; duty the law of life and development, and

justice the mind and the law of equilibrium ; therefore, right particularly asserts itself in matters relating to the substantial wants of organic life ; duty to those of the affectional, social, and intellectual life, and justice to the needs and aspirations of the moral and religious life. But all these are united and cannot exist separately. Under the pressing demands of the material life, man constantly appeals to the right, sacrificed continually by violence and force. Under the reign of a higher social life, when the affectional nature has more sway, he appeals to Duty, though forgetting it often in sacrifices to prejudice and error ; and when intelligence governs man appeals to justice ; but it is only under the reign of reason that he can learn to harmonize Right, Duty, and Justice, which cannot really exist separately. Science must confirm these truths by the study of the human organism.

Real RIGHT is all that nature demands for the preservation, the progress, and the equilibrium of Life in the Individual, in Society, in Humanity. Right is liberty ; for it is in the exercise of Right, according to the Laws of Life, that man must find the liberty to use his faculties—physical, intellectual, and moral, for his own good and that of his fellow-beings.

Right is equality, for it is in the application of right according to the Law of Life that equal satisfaction is found for the faculties of each. The reign of Right is the reign of liberty and equality in the plenitude of the natural faculties with which all are endowed for the purpose of accomplishing the Law of Life.

Liberty does not exist except through respect for those Rights established by nature, that is by God, for the welfare of the individual. Neither is equality found except by respecting the right ; for each enjoys through the use of his own faculties the gratification proper to each of those faculties and thus the Law of Life is fulfilled.

Real DUTY is the protection and respect due to the exercise of the Laws of Life ; the fulfilment of those same laws of Preservation, Progress, and Harmony of Life in the Individual, in Society, in Humanity.

Duty is Charity ; for Charity is the love which the great, the strong, the learned should have for the weak and the ignorant to aid them in fulfilling the Laws of Life in the fulness of the faculties that each possesses.

Duty is fraternity ; for fraternity is the union of men in devotion to the public welfare ; emulation in perfecting all the means for the Preservation, the Development, the Harmony of Life, *for the benefit of All*. It directs our aspirations toward

Social progress, toward the good we may do to men in making easy their participation in the Work of Life.

Real JUSTICE is the harmonizing of Right and Duty by respecting their free exercise in practising the Laws of Life. It provides all with the means of playing their part in the Preservation, the Progress, the Harmony of Life, in the measure of the forces and capacities of each, and assigns to each thing the place most useful to Life.

Justice is truth ; for truth in this moral order is that which conforms to the Laws of Life ; the reality of facts and needs upon which Justice operates to distribute among men the means necessary to the Preservation, the Integral Development, and to the physical, moral, and intellectual equilibrium of each individual.

Justice is the solidarity of mankind. Harmony and happiness upon the earth are obtained only at this price. Solidarity is the basis of supreme Justice in Life generally ; it is the source of the Law of Equilibrium by which each rises or falls according to the weight of his works—that is, according to the merit or demerit of his actions.

These, then, the Voice said, are the fundamental principles derived from the Law of Life to unite man to his kind and to the Universal and Infinite Life. They are the basis of the True Religion of Humanity ; that is the Tie—the principles of Union and of Universal Morality which should preside over all the acts of Humanity. These fundamental principles should serve as the basis of the social and political laws of nations. They should be the frontispiece of all the codes of humanity, and to the friends of liberty and progress belongs the duty of soon inscribing them there.

VIII.

The Universal Law of Life being revealed, I saw that there remained to be established rules for the guidance of mankind. This task devolved upon man himself, through the study of his organization, physical and moral ; *for every creature is subordinate to Life according to the laws of its own species.*

These laws I shall undertake to define from the study of the natural requirements of man, reserving for another volume, which should follow this, *Solutions Morales*, a more complete analysis of the faculties in which these requirements have

their origin. In this chapter these are only considered from the point of view of man's needs.

Nature does not content herself with imposing laws upon the creature ; she also gives him the means of fulfilling them ; therefore has she provided man with the faculties or natural attractions necessary to the fulfilment of his destiny.

Human nature has been heretofore too little studied. Man is apt to consider the simple lessons of nature and good sense as unworthy of his attention ; therefore, instead of studying the realities of life, he has racked his brain over the obscure profundities of metaphysics, thus seeking in vain a law which was all the time directly appealing to his senses.

Let us not commit this fault again. The Law of Life, as the universal law of humanity, being revealed, let us study human life as it is presented before us. Let us find out the meaning of man's faculties and attractions, and through them we shall discover the laws of social life, of morality, and of virtue.

It is admitted to-day as a principle by all real thinkers, that laws, institutions, and society, as a whole, should be adapted to satisfy the wants of man and not to form an obstacle to human liberty. Man must study the works of nature if he would find the laws that are to guide him. In the nature of man, in his organism, ever those laws are found, and yet science has ignored this fact.

Ignorance has held sovereign sway over man's social condition and imposed all kinds of restrictions upon his natural tendencies. The reconciliation of his moral with his physical nature has been always presented as impossible without a constant struggle of the moral to overcome the physical man. Science, indeed, ever seeking to discover the harmony of the laws of nature, has everywhere recognized this harmony except in man ; and yet our wants are subject to the unvarying laws of nature, while human laws emanate from the caprice of man.

With the lower animals it is admitted that every organism corresponds to the needs of the species, and that the satisfaction of these needs constitutes the harmony of their existence. Why should man be an exception to this law ? Why should not the superior faculties with which he is endowed lead to the harmony of his social existence instead of to conflicts and privations ?

If human laws are a cause of disorder, it is because they are in contradiction to those laws of nature which man has not been able to comprehend.

Certainly the human organism is not less complete than that of other terrestrial creatures ; and the perfect harmony among the functions of man's physical system is not less in his intellectual and moral nature. The derangement of the moral functions is analogous to the derangement of the physical functions.

The health of Organic Life depends upon the aliments necessary to its support. It is the same with the moral functions, whose play cannot be regular except through receiving the aliment necessary to support and develop all the powers of the mind.

Man has created a culinary art suited to his physical alimentation because on this subject he has studied the needs of the corporeal nature ; not so the moral nature. He has not sufficiently understood its wants, and therefore has not opened the necessary field of action for the regular play of its functions.

This is why our moral organism, despite the harmony of its parts, becomes disordered in its action and gives discordant results, just as the physical does when the functions are imperfectly performed through want of fit conditions.

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to apply scientific principles to the needs of mind and heart as well as to those of the body, in order to give all normal wants, without distinction, their proper satisfaction ; for this alone is the path that leadeth unto Life. This subject we will not consider.

IX. OUR NEEDS AND THEIR LAWS.

Being IS BEFORE its incorporation. It STILL IS after quitting the material. Man's appearance in the body is for him only a stopping-place to which he is called to serve the ends of LIFE UNIVERSAL.

Man, whose mission is the government and control of matter, needs, above all things, to study the faculties by which his mind enters in relation with the material world. The human mind itself does not attain its knowledge except through the faculties that unite it to matter.

By the organs of the body man acts upon matter. This organism is proportionate to the virtues and merits acquired by the mind. The mind is the principal motor of Being. It acts upon matter by the faculties. The mind, indeed, is the

assemblage of these faculties, for each faculty is but a fraction of the mind, and the faculty manifests itself by the aid of the organ.

THE FACULTY MAKES THE ORGAN FOR THIS PURPOSE. IT IS TO THE TENDENCY AND FORCE OF THE FACULTIES THAT ARE DUE THE FORM AND QUALITY OF THE ORGANISM.

The faculty constitutes the degree of power which the mind has to translate its impulse into action from the moment it is in possession of the organism properly belonging to it.

The faculties, therefore, are the living forces constituting the mind, and by which it acts upon matter. They are manifested through the organs, the assemblage of which, as has just been said, constitute the organism or the form of the being and the measure of its action in life.

The organism, by its assemblage, forms the body ; but the body has a group of organs which serve as the motor of Being, directing it in the material life. To recapitulate, the organ is the instrument of the faculty. Through it the being acts upon matter and enters into relations with phenomena.

From the relation existing between the organs and exterior life arise the wants of the organ ; and consequently—because of the intimate union which Life creates between mind, faculty, and organ—the needs of the organ provoke the desires of the mind, as the desires of the mind, by reflex action, awaken the bodily needs.

Desire is a movement of the mind acting upon the faculties and through these upon the organs of the body, exciting their relations with matter to serve the ends of Life.

Want, on the contrary, is the inverse action of the body upon the mind. Want awakens the ties uniting the body to its environment, urging the organs and faculties unceasing to make the mind act and conduct it in the proper course of its destiny.

When satisfaction of the want follows desire, the normal conditions of life are filled. When this satisfaction cannot be obtained, Passion is engendered.

Passion is irritation provoked by Nature against obstacles in the way of the natural satisfaction of desires and needs.

Under the Empire of Passion the frenzied faculties call all the forces of life to overcome the obstacles. In the struggle the Equilibrium is destroyed and disorders ensue. With rare exceptions, Society is to be blamed for these disorders.

By Passion Nature calls man to obey the laws of his being. The fruitful rain, if not properly utilized, forms a devastating torrent instead of fertilizing the soil. Thus, Passion indicates

by disorder and dissolution the urgent duty of Society to direct wisely the forces that nature has implanted in man.

Faculty, Desire, Want, Passion, are then but different aspects of the same thing seen from different phases of Life's movement.

Contentment, joy, pleasure, comfort, happiness, arise from the gratification of our organs through the desires, needs, and passions that we experience.

Weariness, sadness, grief, and pain, on the other hand, arise from the obstacles that our faculties and organs find in satisfying our desires and passions.

X. DIVISIONS OF THE BRAIN.

To act upon the material life, the faculties of the mind are intimately allied to matter—the needs of the terrestrial creature being indeed identified with it.

The body is the medium for the manifestation of the mind. The limbs and organs are its agents ; but the soul needs a centre for the seat of its faculties. This centre is the brain. Here the mind works the machinery of organic life, and establishes its relations with the outer world.

From these relations arise our needs ; they are subordinate to the laws of nature which should serve as guides for social life.

The fact that the brain is the seat of the faculties of the mind is hardly contested at the present day. Phrenology is an embryonic science, but all those who have given any attention to the subject recognize how much the form of the brain has to do with the character of the individual. We look at the head for our impressions of persons whom we meet for the first time. By the head we judge whether the lower animals are docile or fractious, gentle or ferocious.

The division of the brain is not an accident ; being always the same in all individuals, it must represent design on the part of the Creator to distribute our faculties and decide the character of our wants.

The cranium, or skull, submits to the influence of the growth of our mental organs ; it is moulded by the forces of the mind, and according to the development of the various parts of the brain are the tendencies of the mind represented.

The cranium comprises five grand divisions, corresponding

to the principal series of our faculties. These divisions are represented in Fig. 1.

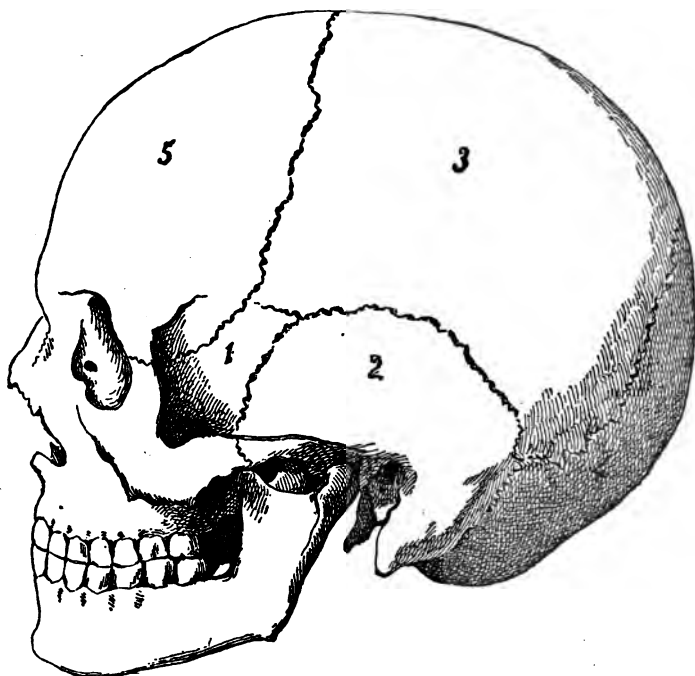


FIG. 1.

Divisions of the cranium corresponding to the organs of our faculties and passions :

1. The Sphenoidal and Ethmoidal regions, the seat of the organs of sense.
2. The Temporal region, seat of the organs of muscular and organic action.
3. The Parietal region, seat of the organs of will and of our interests in Life.
4. The Occipital region, the seat of the organs of memory and affection, sympathies and antipathies.
5. The Frontal region, seat of the intellectual organs.

XI. THE ORGANS OF SENSE.

Through the organs of sense we perceive the phenomena of organic life. They are touch, taste, smell, sight, hearing,

and generation. They are grouped over the *os palatins*, between the sphenoidal and ethmoidal regions and the occipital cavity.

These organs form the centre of the base of the brain ; they communicate through a system of nerve-ramification with all parts of the organism.

It is to the function of these organs and upon their consequent satisfaction that the existence of the creature depends. This first group of organs is consecrated to the existence of the individual.

It is easy to show that nature proceeds to constitute the material conditions of life by the development of these basic faculties. The brain of animals low in the scale of organization is limited to these organs, and so narrow and flat is the skull that there is no place except for the attachment of the nerves of sense.

XII. VITAL AND IMPULSIVE FACULTIES.

As the animal rises in the scale of life the brain develops. The group of the organs of the senses becomes augmented by the vital organs located under the temporal regions. To these organs the animal owes the energies necessary to provide for his wants.

Thus the enlargement of the temporal region of the head indicates the presence of those organs which impel the individual and the species to gratify material wants, and to defend the right to gratify them.

XIII. MORAL AND SOCIAL FACULTIES.

The parietal is located above the temporal region of the brain. This is the seat of the moral and social faculties. Through these man rises to the comprehension of material and moral combinations for the benefit of the individual and the species ; through these he establishes the broader sympathies which lead him to improve his social life. These faculties are the auxiliaries of reason, which guides his course in life. They are the seat of our social and moral impulses.

XIV. AFFECTIONAL OR SYMPATHETIC FACULTIES.

By the side of the moral and social organs—the organs of the *ego*—we find those of the sympathies and affections, giv-

ing rise to wants of another order. These organs are in the occipital region.

The development of this region shows an affectionate character. These organs reflect the impressions that we receive. They attach us to that which is in sympathy with our natures, and repel us from that which is opposite. The impressions of both are made here, and leave their traces for memory. Memory, therefore, is clear and strong in proportion as our affectional organs have been vividly impressed.

The principal rôle assigned to these organs is to unite individuals of the same species ; to attach man to all nature by sympathetic ties inherent in his own organization.

Through the action of these faculties man feels the need of a life outside of himself, and is stimulated to seek the happiness of those to whom he is attached by the ties of sympathy. By these faculties, finally, man is attracted to his kind and to the home he has chosen.

XV. INTELLECTUAL OR SCIENTIFIC FACULTIES.

This group completes the human brain. All agree that the forehead is the sign of intelligence. The front brain is the seat of our knowledge of the physical and the abstract. This region comprises the organs of perception and conception, of matter and its properties, space, time, and motion.

These organs, like the other series we have enumerated, are divided into several groups. They unite the individual to the universal life by their relations with phenomena.

Man, whose mission is to work for the progress of matter toward life, should be provided with perceptive, conceptive, and intellectual faculties in harmony with the properties of matter ; therefore the intellectual organs are in us the measure of our desire to know.

The frontal organs of the brain enable man to penetrate the secrets of life. Through these the intellectual light enters to guide our other faculties.

XVI. INFLUENCE OF THE FACULTIES.

The organs which indicate the faculties are developed in various degrees, giving to the brain a particular conformation in each individual.

These differences of development constitute the original character of each species, of each race, and of each individual.

The natural division of the human brain shows, by the

organs of intelligence, by the sympathies and interests engrafted upon those of instinct, of self-preservation, and of the senses, that man is superior to other terrestrial beings, among which he is especially distinguished by the exceptional amplitude of his brain.

The primitive faculties, the sensory and vital organs which are dominant with the lower animals, are in man the best auxiliaries of the higher faculties, constituting him a reasoning, loving, and intelligent being.

All the faculties are acquired by the individual according to the work he accomplishes in Life.

The sensory or sphenoidal faculties support the relations between the creature and external nature.

The vital or temporal organs enlarge the circle of life by the activity peculiar to each individual in seeking the means necessary to his existence.

The organs of volition, or the parietal, combine the relations of life, measure the extent of our needs, our interest in life, and are the moral guides for all the other faculties.

The affectionate or occipital faculties determine our sympathies, and lead up to a community of interests with our kind and with everything around us.

The intellectual or frontal faculties serve as the beacon for all the other faculties. Through the qualities and properties of matter they lead man to study the profound problems of the intellectual and moral world.

In man alone, after having traversed the entire animal scale, are united all the perfections of the material world. His higher faculties fit him to accomplish his destiny in the universal scheme, by making him the collaborator of nature in the development of material, intellectual, and moral life on the planet.

XVII. SUPERPOSITION OF THE ORGANS.

The five series of faculties and organs that we have pointed out, act in concert according to their degree of development—the indicative sign of their power—and this development is accomplished through the advance from the dominance of physical needs to progressive social needs, and from these to moral needs; that is to say, by following the primordial and general laws, the basis of which we have before given:

The law of the Preservation and Support of Life.

The law of the Development and Progress of Life.

The law of the Equilibrium and Harmony of Life.

We cannot make here an exhaustive study of the faculties

of man without taking too much of the time we would devote to practical questions in this book. We shall reserve the fuller treatment of this subject of development for a future volume. At present we must confine ourselves specially to the theory of needs, and to the general laws of preservation, progress, and equilibrium. These laws, by reason of the needs from which they are derived, determine the basis of Right, Duty, and Justice in humanity, and are the foundation of the Social Law adapted to Human Nature.

The three zones of Fig. 2 represent this division :

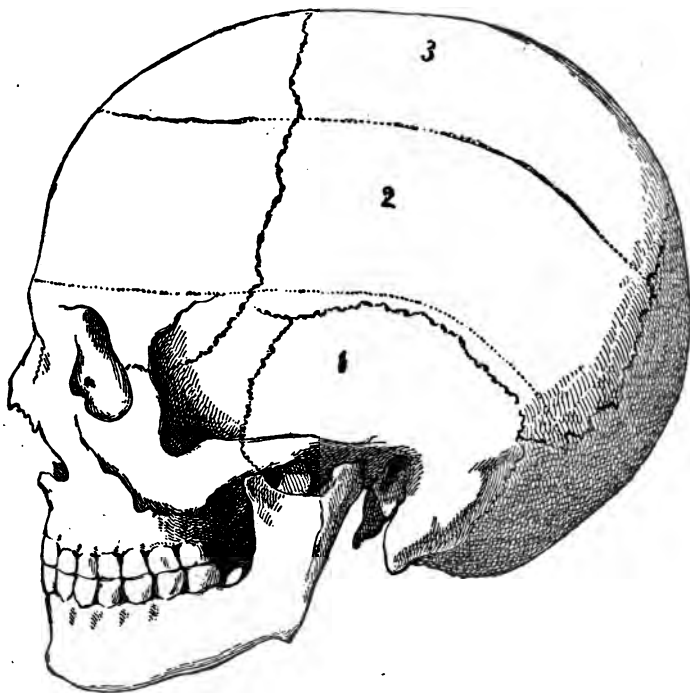


FIG. 2.

Order of the natural development of the faculties and their organs :

1. *Organs of Right*—faculties and needs of self-preservation and the support of Life.
2. *Organs of Duty*—faculties and needs of the development and progress of Life.
3. *Organs of Justice*—faculties and needs of the equilibrium and harmony of Life.

Nature seems to indicate her intentions by this arrangement of the organs of our faculties. She has placed the organs inherent in the law of self-preservation at the base of the brain, under the muscular attachments which connect the head to the trunk.

But the development and progress of Life being less individual, nature has placed their organs at the lateral circumference of the head. They radiate toward the horizon and the objects surrounding the creature.

The faculties of equilibrium and harmony embrace life in a more general sense. Nature has placed them in the upper region of the head, where they radiate upward into space.

XVIII. PRESERVATION OF LIFE.

The requirements for the preservation and support of Life—of which Nature has made us the first law, in giving us the organs and faculties necessary for those requirements—are those of the

LOWER ZONE.

Occipital Section...	{ Generation.
Sphenoidal Section.	{ Food, Lodging, Clothing, Light, Space, Pure Air.
Temporal Section..	{ The Duration of Life, The Support of Life, The Preservation of Life, Activity, Rest.
Ethmoidal Section..	{ Cleanliness, Salubrity, Hygiene.

These needs or requirements constitute the necessary relations of Human Life with Matter. Through them the life of matter is raised to that of mind. Nature subjects all men to those needs by endowing them with organs which give rise to them.

The being, Man, does not exist except as these needs manifest themselves in him. Suppress his physical needs, he is no longer man ; for these needs are the expression of his physical existence—they constitute his organic or corporeal existence. Mind does not exist in man except as thought and desire, while need and movement are facts of the body.

The preservation of the individual, and that of the species, is dependent upon the satisfaction of these first needs. Indeed, Nature has made them the foundation of individual Rights and of Legitimate Social Rights.

The right to life is attacked if the satisfaction of these primitive needs is not assured to individuals. It is the indispensable condition of the rôle man is called to play upon the earth. It is not possible for him to rise up to the use of his higher faculties if he suffers through the needs that bind him to matter. He is inexorably compelled to occupy himself continually with the means of satisfying them. It is the law of Physical Life.

Man must satisfy the demands of Physical Life in order to be able to take interest in Moral Life. Before knowing how to practise Justice he must be in a state to consecrate the alliance of Right and Duty ; that is, in satisfying his own material wants he must know how to protect the same satisfaction in others.

XIX. REQUIREMENTS OF DEVELOPMENT.

The creature cannot have any object more fixed and determined than the care of his own existence, since to participate in Life is the object of that existence, and since in preserving himself he obeys the law of his destiny.

But these needs being answered, the work of Life cannot be accomplished except in the entire life of the great human family ; the life of the individual, then, is but to aid the life of its kind. This the second group of faculties accomplishes, working out the Law of Progress in Life. Higher than the first group, they have not simple necessity for motive ; they are not simply interpreters of organic life, they are also interpreters of the mind. They combine thought and desire with action and desire, and thus constitute the first step toward Moral Life. They open the road of Duty to the Creature, parallel to that of Right.

The faculties giving birth to our requirements of preservation, and constituting the basis of individual Right, serve the

relations of the individual with material things ; but the faculties corresponding to the law of Progress and Development unite the existence of the individual to that of his kind. The phenomena of this group are allied with the needs of the mind as well as those of the body ; hence to Right they unite Duty, and to the law of Preservation that of Development and Progress.

The invincible tendencies of the faculties of this order are as follows :

MIDDLE ZONE.

Occipital Section.	{ Love : Sympathetic union of the Sexes ; obedience to the attractions of the heart.
	{ Friendship : the union of individuals ; equality ; fraternity.
	{ Education : the family ; maternal care of the young ; protection of childhood.
	{ Scientific Education : training in the Arts and Industries.
	{ Patriotism : Habit ; Love of Home and everything around us.
Parietal Section..	{ Security ; Protection ; Association ; Solidarity.
	{ Distribution ; Exchange ; Business.
	{ Consumption ; Property ; Wealth.
	{ Production ; Labor ; Industry ; The Idea.
Frontal Section..	{ The Science of Matter ; Arts.
	{ " " " Space, Time, and Motion.
	{ " " " Relation ; causes and effects.

This represents the different ends which Life assigns to the faculties and organs of the second zone of the brain.

The first zone is, above all, individual ; the second, individual and social. The first is the assertion of Right ; the second, of Right and Duty.

The natural evolution of the faculties is from the instinct of individual rights to that of Collective Rights.

In enlarging the circle of man's rights the faculties serving the law of the Development and Progress of Life open to us the field of Duty. All the faculties of this group, and the needs arising from them, make man feel the presence of his species around him and the necessity of relations with them. These are the *social faculties* ; these are the *social needs*—the rights and the duties devolving upon man in society, the rights and the duties which none can infringe without failing in his Mission in Life. It is the duty of all of us, in the measure of our strength, to facilitate the development of these

faculties in our species as well as in ourselves, for they constitute the foundation of individual and social Right and Duty.

XX. REQUIREMENTS OF EQUILIBRIUM AND HARMONY.

When man has risen to complete command of the progressive faculties he can begin to command those of Equilibrium and Harmony, composing the zone which especially characterizes man and marks the superiority of his rôle on the earth over all other creatures.

These faculties, unlike those of Preservation, have their motive force in the impulse of mind ; they are the instruments of Desire rather than of want or need. Their organs occupy all the coronal portion of the head, which in itself indicates the superiority of their function in Life and the grandeur of the aspirations of the human race.

In this coronal or highest portion of the brain are the organs corresponding to the highest needs and aspirations.

SUPERIOR ZONE.

Occipital Section.	{ To be useful, { To distinguish ourselves, { To devote ourselves to the good of the community.
Parietal Section..	{ To direct and command ; { To attain Superiority, Liberty, Dignity, Justice, Equity ; { To appeal to General Laws, and to the forces of nature ; { To seek the Intelligence that presides over all things.
Frontal Section..	{ The True, { The Good, { The Beautiful, { The Just.

To create Harmony in all things and everywhere, such is the end assigned by the Creator to the highest organic forces of man ; such is their permanent mission which they always recognize, even in the wild interpretations of which they are unfortunately too often capable.

For it is to be remarked that all men pretend to use their faculties in the most laudable way, the difference of human conduct being due to the difference of the living progress made

by the mind. By this fact even our wants and desires are subject to the most opposite direction, to the most contradictory actions, according as we use our faculties in obedience to the Laws of Life or in rebellion against them.

This is why the desires and wants, corresponding to the superior organs of the brain, are the most signal expression of the character of man, whether normal or subverted in their action; for by the moral progress that man accomplishes in life do his desires and needs take a direction hurtful or useful to social progress. And their function being less to satisfy the body than the mind, they are specially called to put aside personal interests and enter upon the true *Moral Life* inspired by associated interests. But the organs of the brain, like those of the body, acquire skill by practice in the exercise of their functions.

And though the object of these faculties is to create Harmony upon the earth, and though fraternity, order, the desire to be useful, dignity, Sovereignty, Liberty, Justice, Respect, and Union among men are their true needs, it is none the less true that man long uses these faculties to direct him in the way of error; for the spirit of Accord and Social Harmony does not develop in humanity except through experience of conflict and misfortunes necessitated by human imperfection. It is the absence of the exercise of these faculties in the masses, and the criminal direction of them by the wicked or the incapable, to which are due all the miseries of peoples and nations.

It is through the subjugation of these higher faculties—it is the domination of the dark passions of certain men—that societies are led into those ways that are the inverse of true Life. We still witness the sad spectacle of high offices being distributed by favor, or seized by the cunning, instead of being reserved for true merit by the combined social forces.

Justice has neither rule nor basis, and religion is a mere trade or profession in the hands of those who represent it.

The sentiments of the Good, the True, the Beautiful, are perverted, and the destinies of the people are delivered up to hazard or to the caprice of a few.

Ah! this would not be if the faculties of man enjoyed their liberty and their true impulse. True merit would then have sway, and we should not witness the spectacle of every kind of turpitude in government. By the perversion of these highest faculties ambition does not have its motive-spring in the love of labor and peace. The insensate policy of sovereigns urges on the people to formidable armaments, whose

inevitable consequence must be the wiping out of nations by war for the criminal gratification of the vanity of royal dynasties.

Or, these high faculties taking the rôle generally assigned to them by the people, sweep away those interests of princes which make the woes of nations, and foster in royal families ambitious rivalries for which the people must pay by their sweat and blood.

In their normal, sovereign sway these faculties will guide the people toward the inauguration of the Federation of Nations; then will the reign of labor and peace, the reign of wisdom and prosperity, be forever established among the people.

XXI. PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN LAWS.

The study of man's nature is absolutely indispensable to the understanding of the problems of organization upon which social happiness depends, and only through comprehension of the real wants of the species shall we finally succeed in reforming the errors and abuses of our laws and morals. Legislation can never be purified until inspired by the laws of nature and, above all, those governing Human Life. Justice will remain a fiction in Society until human laws are made to harmonize with the Laws of Life.

Legislation has heretofore been specially remarkable for its constant opposition to the free expansion of man's needs—by the obstacles it opposes to his liberty.

What means this universal aspiration for Liberty in modern times, if it be not the full and free expansion of all the legitimate desires and wants of man? And must it not efface all restrictions bearing upon facts that sound philosophy cannot recognize as culpable—that is, contrary to the Laws of Life?

The principle of liberty requires that the desires and needs inherent in human nature be considered as obligations which the Creator has imposed upon us. All institutions that are in contradiction to the laws of nature, all those declaring the work of the Creator imperfect, are contrary to the principle of liberty; for Liberty and Right, according to Nature, are one.

Every obstacle opposed to liberty—to the free expansion of the individual—is, then, a violation of right and duty. Desires and needs are everywhere the emanation of natural rights. Duty in the individual and in society consists in seeking

answers to those rights by means in accord with the will of Nature ; and Justice consists in administering the law of that satisfaction in a manner to establish harmony in human life by perfect accord between the individual and social institutions.

Behold, therefore, what society should strive to realize, instead of instituting laws and manners in permanent revolt against the tendencies of human nature.

The forces of Life are capable of different motive-springs. Created in view of securing the Preservation, the Development, and the Harmony of Life, these faculties may be perverted from their natural end when people are misguided. Human law should then intervene, not to clog the action of our faculties, but to regulate their motive-springs according to the ends of Life.

For example, the faculties of labor and production, instead of being exercised solely for useful ends, have been perverted to the creation of engines of destruction and murder.

It is the same with the natural desire to preserve—to economize and accumulate property. This faculty is often led into temptation to cupidity because our social institutions give no proper play to this economizing instinct, assuring it satisfaction within the limits of perverted passion.

It is thus with all our faculties, which our political and social surroundings educate falsely and provoke their subversive expression. Up to the present time our laws have not dealt with rights and duties derived from our natural faculties. Their rôle has been to accept and justify precedent ; to protect tradition by force substituted for right, and egoism instead of duty. Force has become the rule of those who make laws—and the rights of the weak are everywhere sacrificed, and their social position is just what the strong choose to make it.

Our modern legislation, whatever its admirers may think to the contrary, is but a tradition of the past whose traces our economic and political revolutions have not been able to efface. It is full of the oppression, prejudice, and error inherited from ancient and barbarous people, and to correct the faults of its origin society is to-day in labor. Our civil and political laws have been made in the interest of minorities, for the most part, who have accumulated the fruits of labor while the laborer's compensation has been poverty. Laws should be the safeguard of social progress—protecting the individual in all cases, and preventing the appropriation of the labor of others without adequate compensation.

Human laws can only be legitimate when they are the interpretation of natural laws in the individual and between nations, and they should always aid the Support, the Progress, and the Harmony of life. They have been established against the interests of the rights and duties derived from the faculties and wants of man, and they must be reconstructed on a different base. True justice must take the place of factitious and conventional justice before the reign of Social Harmony can be inaugurated.

XXII. THE EXECUTIVE AND THE JUDICIARY.

Justice cannot rule in the decisions of law, nor in the decrees of judges, until law is an expression of true justice, and not of arbitrary legislation contrary to natural law.

In order that magistrates and tribunals may protect the rights of all, these rights must be inscribed in the law. This is a fact that politicians of the day have generally ignored. How many among them, indeed, believe that a social panacea may be found in a political modification of executive, administrative, and judiciary powers; not comprehending that by changing men instead of the laws nothing is gained, since the new men must sustain the old laws and thus perpetuate the errors of the past?

It is not simply to the constitution of executive and to the judiciary that the manner of administering justice is attributable. The law is what the progress of ideas has made it, and magistrates will loan themselves to abuses as long as the legislator is unable, in his weakness, to give the prestige of truth to laws.

As long as the magistrate ignores the fact that justice rests on immutable principles, consecrated by nature, the law in his hands is only an instrument subject to the caprice of circumstances, and despotism often furnishes him the simplest means for resistance to human passions.

Under such conditions, justice is only a profession for him who administers it; a profession wherein the judge has often less interest in serving the ends of justice than in lending himself to errors of opinion or to views of power without principle.

As there is no just and invariable rule established, public common-sense is powerless to redress the wrongs that are constantly being renewed. Under such circumstances, the public conscience is roused by the wrongs the people are

made to suffer, and at intervals excess is arrested by revolutions.

The study of the fundamental principles of law, and the reform of our codes, is of the most pressing importance at this time, unless we would see still more horrible disorders in our social and political system.

XXIII. THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

A code must be made to guarantee the right to live ; that is, to guarantee the necessary, the indispensable, to the preservation of human life. This means the satisfaction of the sensory and vital faculties implanted by nature for self-preservation. Society owes protection to every child from its birth onward, and it is only by culpable neglect of duty that a certain number are abandoned to chance for supplying their physical needs.

In order that this first natural right—the right to live—should not be denied by society, it should be inscribed in our laws and inculcated in our morals. Legislation should protect the practical means for satisfying the primal wants of all. These means are :

Food,
Lodging,
Clothing,
Pure air,
Light,
Free space,
Cleanliness,
Salubrity,
Hygiene.

Society must watch over the support and preservation of human life.

All that is necessary to the preservation of health should be guaranteed by institutions. It should not be possible for any human creature to be deprived of this protection. The law has done much for those who have already, but nothing for those who are deprived of the necessities of life.

Legislation can no longer remain forgetful of its duties ; it must be influenced by the progress of modern thought. The immense wealth that the present age sees realized, opens the way for the possibility of satisfying the physical needs of all ; while the progress of philosophical ideas will lead to reform-

ing the errors that reason and conscience repudiate, and to which modern social tendencies are diametrically opposed.

XXIV. SOCIAL INTERESTS.

The codes are to be reformed in the interest of social relations. The law should confirm for the benefit of all :

The rights of production.

The rights of consumption.

The rights of distribution.

The rights of social protection.

In confirming these rights in their full extent the law will assure by a counterstroke the practice of the duties having the same motives for base :

The duty of production, inspiring each one with the desire to create, by labor, manufacturing, by inventions, by scientific pursuits, giving all the opportunity to be useful to their kind ;

The duties of consumption, giving to each a mission of individual provision, thus forming a part of the social provision and assuring to everyone the means of existence with opportunities for enjoying the advantages of wealth, united to sentiments of Justice, Equity, and Dignity which exalt the rights of the citizen possessing sovereignty and liberty—those blessings of Social Progress. Liberty is the indispensable corollary of all development and all progress in human life. Without it equilibrium in social life is impossible ;

The duties of distribution, inspiring the general desire that each shall fill the place to which he is entitled in the performance of industrial and social functions, to the end that all may aid in the development of social harmony—in everything which interests human Life ;

The duties of social protection, assuring the peace and security of all by the support that each gives to the rights of others, by the aid that each adds to the common interests, and by the desire that all have to render themselves useful.

This is what the spirit of the law of life should inculcate in the mind of the masses, and that which the written law should secure through proper institutions.

XXV. AFFECTIONAL NEEDS.

A code is to be made that will put human legislation in accord with the natural law of our affectional needs, so that social institutions may be in harmony with them.

Procreation,
Love of sex,
Paternity and maternity,
Filiation,
Friendship,
Love of home,
Patriotism,
Fraternity,

are the tendencies of the human heart that the written law has constantly outraged.

The union of the sexes should follow the law of nature in the free expression of the attractions of the heart in such a way as to separate love from venal contracts.

The prejudices introduced into the law regarding the family, paternity, and maternity are to be effaced. What can be more monstrous than the law that excludes the child of love from his rights to paternal and maternal protection, and to the heritage of his parents in contempt of common-sense and sound philosophy? All children are legitimate before the same God who ordered their existence.

The law which obliges paternity or maternity to conceal itself is a social crime which the legislator should answer for before the Tribunal of Life.

The education and training of childhood are forgotten. The laws which shall provide for this great object are yet to be made. The right of property in human beings is effaced from our morals, but the right of abuse weighs still heavily upon the child through the want of proper institutions to protect him.

In Paris, the capital of the civilized world, one-third of the new-born infants are sent to certain death without any help from the law. Country nursing at fifteen francs a month means the right to destroy the infant without any interference of the police.

Man, in making himself a legislator, thinks he has the right to destroy the liberty of his fellow-being. He is not content with degrading love and the family instincts, but he has created by law a thousand obstacles to the liberty of reunion and association, to the attractions and charms of friendship.

But it is, above all, the highest form of affection that legislators have most outraged. They have not feared, through the laws of war, to break all the bonds that unite man to his native country, to the soil that he has cultivated, to the profession he follows, to the friends with whom he lives, thus violating all the sacred affections of the heart to enroll him in the quarrels of his tyrants.

And yet it is in the name of patriotism that the despotism of power pretends to undertake all these wars, contrary to the interests of the people. When all the best sentiments of patriotism have been outraged in the heart of man, then power invokes the sentiment for its own evil ends.

O men! Do not forget that true patriotism is that real love of country which would see its greatness develop through labor and peace. True patriotism springs from the love of humanity. Before true patriotism all men are brothers. Men desire to see the prosperity of the places where they live and labor, but they do not desire it through war, not by the spoliation of their neighbors; they desire it through useful labor, in order to receive other peoples and nations as friends and brothers in the field of their pacific conquests.

The code of laws, therefore, harmonizing with our affectional wants is to be made. It must give the human being liberty in the expression of all the love he is capable of in his attachments to others and to nature entire.

Philosophers and thinkers, let your watchword be war to all the prejudices that stay the prosperity and the progress of humanity.

XXVI. INTELLECTUAL NEEDS.

A code is to be made for the needs of the intellect in order to place within the reach of all,

Education and training,

The study of physics,

Instruction in labor—that is, in manufacturing, in agriculture, and in the arts and sciences.

In facilitating all the means of progress in human knowledge, placing the employment of scientific discoveries within the reach of all, we stimulate men to search for the secrets that nature holds in reserve for the progress and happiness of humanity.

XXVII. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL NEEDS.

A code is to be made as a sanction to social laws, in order to give sovereignty to liberty, and to all the higher tendencies of man their natural constitution necessary to found the social hierarchy upon merit.

Our superior faculties are :

Fraternity,

The desire to be useful,

The hierarchy of functions, order ;

Sovereignty, liberty, dignity ;

Justice, Loyalty, Equity ;

Faith in the good,

Choice of Superiority, merit ;

The True,

The good,

The beautiful,

The just.

All the wants of man, in fact, which conduct to union, accord, and social harmony.

This code should assure free thought, the right to proclaim the higher truths of the religion and the morality of the future, and the right to combat the errors of false doctrines which hold the mind in the darkness of ignorance.

Finally, these codes are the codes of social order—proclaiming human law subordinate to the laws of nature, and founding its legitimacy upon the power to secure happiness to all mankind.

XXVIII. THE APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES.

Here ends the rapid sketch of the doctrine which serves as the foundation of the theories and facts presented in this book. If this sketch is found wanting from the point of view of psychological evidence, it will, I trust, suffice for the present to establish the social, political, and moral rule for the doctrine itself.

The law of good and evil need no longer be a mystery ; for I believe I have clearly shown that Good is all that aids the free working of the Primordial Laws of Life, and Evil all that tends to oppose this end.

My work is only an effort to apply these principles. Taking man as nature has fashioned him, and the satisfaction of all

his natural wants as the law of life, we shall proceed with a firmer step toward the solutions of the social questions which we have undertaken.

Starting from the principles we have laid down, we see that everyone has before him something to gain or lose in life by obeying the law of good or of evil.

To be useful to human life or to be hurtful to it are the only two paths before us.

To be useful to human life by the means nature gives us—to increase the things necessary to the well-being and the progress of the individual and the species, and to facilitate the development of the faculties and the satisfaction of the wants of all.

To be an obstacle to human life is to sacrifice to the egoism of a small number that which should contribute to the happiness of a greater number; to retain for the benefit of one that which might serve for the free expansion of the faculties and the satisfaction of the wants of many.

The *good*, thus understood, opens a free field for the labor of all. Each in his sphere can aid the cause of human life by different ways according to his position, the means at his disposal, and his natural energy.

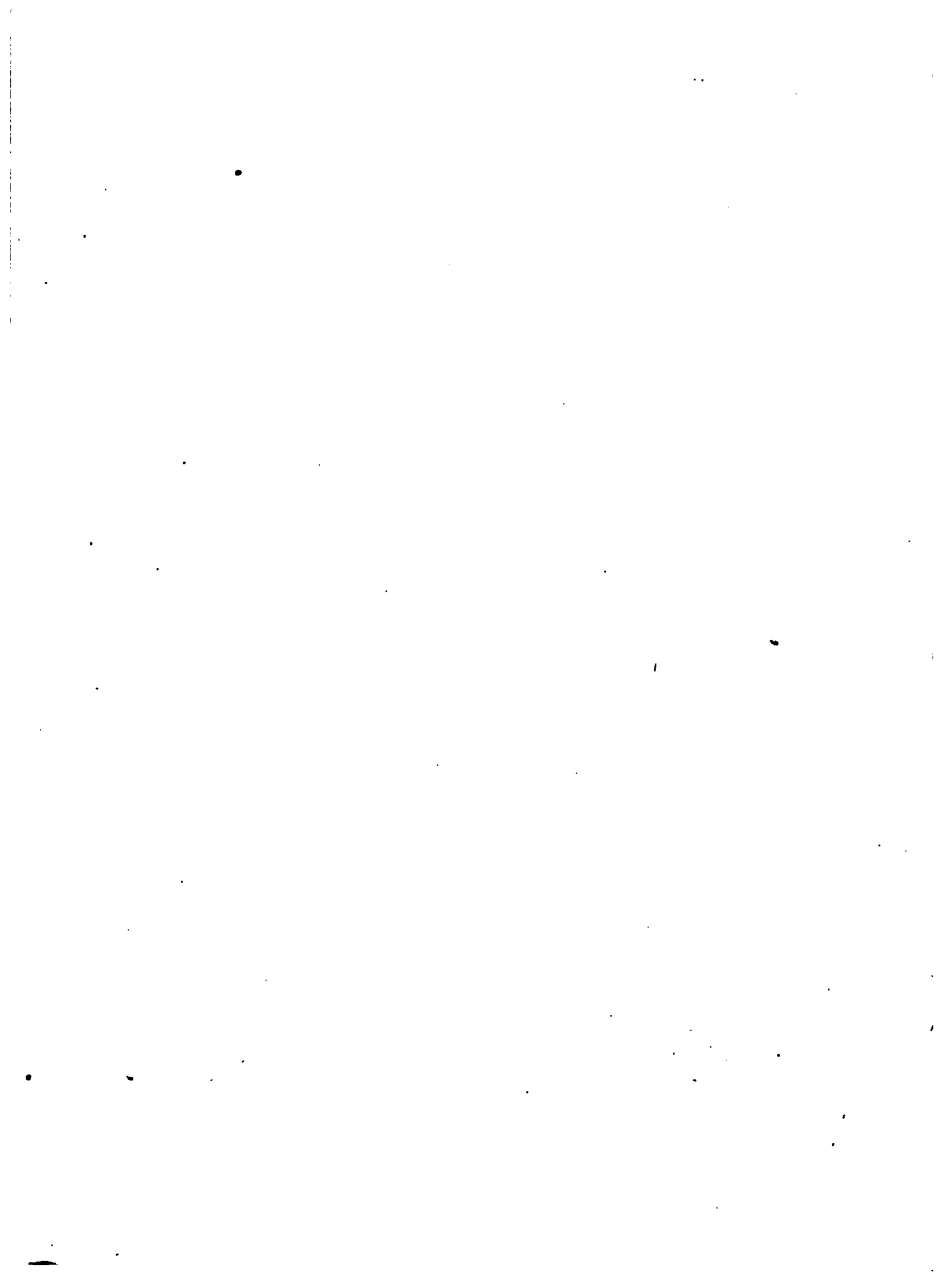
There are, however, certain points inaccessible to individual action on account of the constitution of society; such are certain institutions where the law hedges them about and opposes all change and innovation.

The penetration of these arcanas, which are reputed sacred, is the duty of those who influence the world through argument and discussion. It is specially the business of legislation to introduce necessary guarantees into these institutions.

But though the law incloses with a wall of iron nearly all the elements of which society is composed, still a certain number result from individual action, and are thereby subject to private influence.

Labor and its products, property and its investment, are of this number. Moreover, these touch nearly the most pressing needs of social life. It is in this field, according to the doctrine at the beginning of this book, that I, in my character first as a laborer, and then as a manufacturer, should specially study the progress that is possible in the way of ameliorating human life.

My efforts in this direction will occupy the first place in the positive studies of the following *exposé*.



PART THIRD.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LAW OF SOCIAL EVOLUTIONS.

I. THE DIVINE END OF LABOR.

THE progress and the discoveries of the human mind have demonstrated that the universal Law of Life is the supreme law to which everything converges, to which everything aspires, and by which everything acts. The Law of Life is the bond between the systems of the universe, and it embraces all things from the atom up to God.

All is united in Life by Life itself, but Being is distinguished there by the action of the faculties upon matter.

It is to the exceptional influence that man exerts over matter on the planet that he owes his superiority. It is Labor that raises him above all other beings on the earth.

Man is not called into life, like other creatures, simply to elaborate matter by alimentation ; to him is given intelligence to improve all the forms of matter through labor—at first a necessity, and after, when man becomes sufficiently wise, he makes it his title to glory.

Necessity and glory : these are the two poles of human activity.

Labor from necessity is the rule in the ages of ignorance—ages of manual labor and material economies. This is the motive in the infancy of mankind. Misery and poverty are then the cause of the activity of the great majority of men. Necessity is the motive for the accumulation of material reserves by which individual provision enriches society.

The glory of labor on the contrary is the conquest of man over matter ; it is the motive of intelligent humanity, creating comfort and wealth by labor, machinery, and instruments of all kinds. It is the motive for the constitution of science—

intellectual reserves that humanity accumulates in its progress toward accomplishing its destiny upon the earth.

So long as man is unable to rise to the comprehension of the extent of the duties and responsibilities which nature has imposed upon him, so long will he fail to understand that labor is his mission upon the earth, *and he will continue guilty of the blasphemy of degrading labor to the position of a punishment.*

And yet there is no labor, however simple or insignificant it may appear, which is not nobler than idleness, though surrounded with honors ; and a day's work, well done, is worth more than a whole existence of inactivity.

The various phases of labor are very far, in their beginning, from exemplifying the divine origin assigned to them. Labor is the means by which humanity rises ; but very slowly and painfully does it acquire the knowledge by which each step is realized ; and its sublime virtues, scarcely comprehended to-day, are then in no way foreseen ; for the subjection of man to matter, while he is unable to make the forces of nature do his bidding, prevents him from seeing all that he may expect by placing himself under their protection, through labor intelligently conducted.

If labor is hard, it is because of man's ignorance. The difficulties that remain to be conquered are in the eyes of reason a work of devotion that man owes to Life, and not a punishment inflicted upon him. Labor will cease to be a burden, when man comprehends its mission ; nor will it be a simple medium for satisfying selfishness. It will be the field where intelligence and devotion united will strive for the conquest of Liberty, Fraternity, and Justice. Then the activity of man will produce unceasingly for all ; the means for honorably sharing the comforts and luxuries of life will be ample, and abundance will rapidly efface the traces of the misery and iniquity of the past.

The labor of ages has developed a fund of ideas adapted to guide humanity toward its true interpretation, and the truths concerning it have been developing one by one for more than a half-century ; yet still, how many errors impede their social application !

Labor takes part in the divine work of Life. It is the instrument of the progress of nations, the emancipation of peoples. This we hope to demonstrate, while pointing out the way to put into practice truths which permit man to penetrate the infinite perspectives of his future—the motives of God.

II. PHASES OF INDIVIDUALS AND OF SOCIETY.

The laws which preside over movement and the march of life in humanity are analogous to those which preside over the march of life in the individual.

Human societies have different characters and temperaments, according to the age of their social development. Each phase of the life of a society corresponds to the expression of particular faculties and needs, as each phase of individual life has its particular tendencies.

The first tendency in the life of a society is self-preservation: the right to live. From the notion of right it rises to that of duty, and from duty to the sense of harmony of interests, which is justice.

If we consider man in the different phases of his existence, we first see the infant receiving the care necessary to his condition on entering life. He expresses his rights forcibly by cries and tears. As he grows, he wishes to break away from his leading strings, and move independently. He wishes to possess everything that pleases him, seeking the satisfaction of his desires without any consideration of the rights of others; and though incapable of creating for himself the means of living, he expects these without his intervention, finding in the unconscious affinities of his nature the justification of the right which he claims.

To consume and to move about is the sum of his life, and his rights rest solely on the duty of others, without consideration of any question of justice.

Soon the child becomes the man, and enters the phase of labor. This is his natural emancipation. That which he expected others to give him he feels that he can earn for himself. Labor opens a new life for him; he creates, he produces, and even becomes a dispenser of necessities in his turn. He sees now in work the fruit of his action upon matter, and in the economies that he makes, the guarantees for the future. The energies of primitive morality develop in him side by side with those of labor. The sentiment of ownership is joined to that of security, to the family instinct, and to love.

These individual sentiments induce sociability, but within narrow limits. At this stage of development, man loves only that with which he is in immediate relation. He lives only for those with whom he is personally acquainted, and he is hostile to others; yet still, the sentiment of duty is super-added to that of right. He feels that, having received favors

from others, he ought to return them ; and his desire to see others happy increases according to his measure of progress.

The widening of his sphere of relation with others softens in time the spirit of individualism, because higher faculties are brought into greater activity as such relations extend. Experience makes him see the necessity of the harmony of relations, not simply in individual but in social life, and then the phase of reason is developed at the same time as the desire to apply justice to human acts as far as he comprehends it.

Thus social ideas extend in the human mind, from the family to the city or town, then to the canton, the province, the nation, and, finally, to all humanity. But it is by a thousand essays that this moral work is accomplished. There are few minds to-day that have freed themselves from prejudices of nationalities and boundary lines.

Moral evolution in society is analogous to that which we have traced in the individual. It is only slowly and little by little that it rises from the conception of Right to that of Duty, and from Duty to Justice.

In primitive societies, men are the children of nature. They find in her the means of subsistence which they are incapable of creating by themselves. Attached strongly to matter by the ties of the physical organism, the material side is the first object of their experiments. Labor is at first the instinctive result of individual want. Necessity commands, he obeys ; and the conquest of the things necessary to existence is almost his whole occupation. Yet man's needs exceed the amount that his labor can supply, and thus his desires increase, stimulating to greater effort until abundance is secured for all.

Under the pressure of wants unsatisfied, man, while invoking the name of right as a basis of action, resorts to force and appropriates the property of others by violence. This spirit of cupidity causes the subversion of human energy, and instruments of war and carnage are the result.

Destruction, pillage, slavery, the subjugation of man by man, will continue to curse the people until the sentiment of respect for useful labor replaces the criminal follies of mankind. This state of things is the *reign of right*-founded upon the animal instinct of self-preservation, and sustaining itself by monopoly and conquest. Thus human society offers the spectacle of incessant warfare. Man makes his progress through innumerable errors of subversive activity.

Incapable of uniting for a worthy object, men unite for an

ignoble one. Concert in making an attack provokes the interest of defence. Wickedness and covetousness force ignorant human beings into war, making them labor collectively for resistance and self-preservation; and thus is progress accomplished even through evil. God permits the stupidity and the wickedness of men to serve indirectly the accomplishment of their destiny, developing their intelligence even through the perverted use of their activities.

This period of social growth presents only successive phases of confused labor. Families isolated, poor, abandoned to themselves, working without order or foresight, exhausting their forces in ungrateful toil, blindly preparing the reign of duty, but without any interests apparently except individual ones.

In history we find with difficulty any traces of progress accomplished by productive labor. Man is so fascinated by the reign of force, by the clash of arms, that he becomes indifferent to everything which has not the sword as a symbol. History is a record of wars, invasions, battles, massacres, persecutions, assassinations, poisonings—facts which will soon be held in horror by nations. Its record of the good that man has done in raising matter to the rank of an auxiliary in the march of progress, is insignificant in comparison. The origin of all the useful discoveries in science and in the arts is generally lost in obscurity, unless indeed the invention gave rise to some persecution for its author. Yet, through all difficulties labor slowly effects her conquests over matter. Gradually the law of Duty rises from the reciprocity of facts. Society recognizes that violence gives rise to violence, and that the first condition of human peace is mutual respect and mutual assistance.

Soon the sentiment of Duty dominates that of Right. Even the abuses of force masquerade under the garb of duty. Wealth tends to increase by labor, and in the midst of their primitive poverty the people construct grand public buildings, which transmit to coming generations their contingent of labor. Labor creates the means of locomotion and transportation. By the construction of ships, rivers and streams and seas are laid under contribution to man. Labor establishes exchanges and commerce between nations, while science advances just in proportion to man's progress in labor. Without the aid of the labor of preceding generations, man is a poor creature. Society learns finally that it owes everything to labor; and it is then that the law of equilibrium permits human affairs to be ordered in accordance with notions of justice. When society reaches this point, the character of the moral

forces is modified ; it is justice that inspires society, and notions of duty and right result ; whereas in the primitive state of society duty grows from the sentiment of right, and justice from duty.

The present social phase is in this condition, and differs greatly from the phases that have preceded. The wants of society create productive energies out of the interests making up the social bond, and labor is the force that is giving the world a new movement. The social reforms which our epoch engenders must be those which will organize the means to assure to the masses the comforts and advantages that labor produces. This is the only way to render legitimate the employment of wealth, and to place the social positions that depend upon it under the safeguard of justice, which will finally assure definite peace to the world.

Society has passed the phases of childhood. We possess the true sentiment of right and duty, and we know the rules of justice and the way to reduce them to practice. To this end we must tear down every barrier to liberty, in order to establish social unity among individuals and nations.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ELEMENTS OF PRODUCTION.

I. THE ACTION OF NATURE AND OF MAN.

LABOR is the principal aspect of life upon the planet. It is form, movement, and thought impressed upon matter.

To the work of Nature, the elements, man adds his own labor for the purpose of improving his condition in life. Riches are the unconsumed products of labor which are reserved for future use. Wealth is composed of two elements—the work of Nature and the labor of man. The wealth which Nature produces she gives for the common use of all.

Man takes part in the possession of natural wealth in two forms. The first is obligatory for all men. This is the passive form: the personal use that each is obliged to make of nature's products in order to live. The individual has a right to the natural products of the earth. This is the right to life.

The second form is active; it consists in producing, and supplements the first form. It is the action of labor and intelligence applied to the work of Nature, widening the sphere of material life, and constituting the right of the individual to the products of his activity.

Wealth accruing from the labor of man constitutes individual right to property. In effect, when man adds new qualities to raw material, the sentiment of property commences its development. He feels and sees his influence upon matter. Things submitted to his hand reflect a part of himself. They become incorporated with his thought by the action of his intelligence and of his hands. They belong to the individual as the individual belongs to himself; such is the sentiment of right in the human mind as soon as he operates intelligently upon Nature. The right of property, therefore, is correlative to that of labor. Such is the idea that man attaches to the possession of things, and their value increases as they represent more and more of labor.

But, by the side of the individual right created by labor,

there exists a right created by the labor of Nature—a right that justice is to rehabilitate *for the benefit of all*, after ages of indifference and oppression.

II. NATURAL WEALTH.

While infant man is still ignorant of the processes of labor, he is endowed only with ideas necessary to self-preservation. Nature's products are common property. The soil, the fruits, the animals are a common stock from which each draws according to his needs, for as yet no questions of privilege are established. Anyone may appropriate the stone that he finds proper for a hatchet, cut the branch he desires for a bow, gather the ripe fruit, or kill the passing animal to satisfy his appetite ; *but the earth and its fruits, the work of God and Nature, remain the common fund from which the generations which will follow, like those which have preceded us, will unceasingly draw for the support of life.*

This is a primordial Right which will continue as long as humanity endures, and man would never have questioned it, but that, in his primitive ignorance, he ignored the Laws of Life, Association, and Labor.

Man is but the husbandman of Nature for the progress of life on the earth. He represents but a feeble part of the immense work which the natural forces accomplish daily to give all men the means of existence. If for one instant this protection was withheld, mankind would perish from the earth. There are, then, besides the products of man's labor, those of nature, the common source of all.

We must, therefore, distinguish the work of the creative forces above us from that of man ; the result of the general operation of the elements from the products of the human individuality operating with the forces outside.

Nature is careful of her species ; all men are her children. Before them she spreads her treasures—*natural products, being the property of no one, are to be shared by all.* Thus Nature consecrates the primordial right of all to the things necessary to life, and endows them all with the faculties and desires necessary to make use of them.

The action of Nature is anterior to that of man, and she follows him in all his labors. No individual can pretend to be the first principle of things upon which her activity is exercised. Before him, Nature created the elements ; more-

over, man can make nothing without the aid of Nature. Man did not make the earth, the water, the air, nor the light ; matter is not his work. Nature creates all things for the exercise of man's activity, and to satisfy the wants of the race.

The rains and the dews moisten the earth, and nourish the roots of vegetation. The air bears everywhere the vital properties for sustaining all life. The sun gives daily the light, the heat, and the life which the earth requires. Plants grow, fruits ripen, and animals increase for the good of humanity. The laborer melts the ores and converts them into metals, which he moulds into utensils and machines ; but he borrows from Nature the materials, the air, and the fire, and without her aid he can do nothing.

The laborer sows his fields, and gathers his harvests, but if Nature did not fructify the seed he sows, where would be the use of his labor ?

Nature accords to man the faculty to dispense her wealth for his own personal needs ; but *she gives no one the right to monopolize her products. By the assistance that she gives, she confers on all men the right to a part of the fruit which results ; consequently the natural domain is inalienable.*

The right of each to the products of Nature is limited only by his physical needs.

Society cannot justly place any obstacle to the exercise of this right ; *she cannot modify the exercise of it, except by giving to the individual social rights superior to those he holds from nature ; that is to say, by converting his right to natural products into a societary right to the products of labor.*

III. INDUSTRIAL WEALTH.

Until men began to impose restrictions and social rules upon their fellows, the right of property was confined to the individual who owned himself, and whatever natural products he could assimilate as necessary to his wants.

But the mission of man is to appropriate material to his use, to transform and add his own labor to that of Nature. *Here commences the individual right of property.*

Whatever man adds to the work of Nature belongs to him. The fruit of his labor is a radiation of himself—an extension of his being. But man cannot become the possessor of the fruits of his labor without putting himself under obligation to others. Property imposes duties upon him, because the ap-

appropriation of matter for the benefit of the individual must militate against the rights of others ; and hence arises the duty of compensating those who have thereby been deprived of their rightful share of the Common Fund of Nature. But man, actuated by the desire to possess, has failed to distinguish between his own labor and the work of Nature, to which his own has been added. To preserve the property which his labor has produced, he has at the same time appropriated that which belongs to all humanity ; and man having misunderstood the true principles of right, society has, of course, failed to apply them, renouncing all control of wealth because human activity renders it individual. Still taxes and duties may be considered as indicating a right upon property that society has preserved ; but, far from having the characteristics of a societary right, it seems, on the contrary, to justify the alienation of natural wealth, upon which human wealth depends.

The law of progress will not permit society to perpetuate indefinitely this social error. The right of property produced by labor, also the surplus value that it is able to give to things, must be distinguished from the pure productions of Nature to which all have the same right.

CHAPTER XV.

GREAT INDUSTRIES.

I. PROGRESS OF LABOR.

By the transformation or modification of the material conditions of present resources, man prepares the progress of the future. There would be no amelioration and no progress possible if all things were to preserve their forms invariably. To-day only those hopelessly afflicted with social blindness, deny that radical change in society is possible.

It is our duty, then, to understand the conditions of social progress. When an edifice becomes old and tottering, it is not prudent to wait until it falls to the ground before studying the plan of its rebuilding. Our social edifice is in this condition, and if we fail in the necessary foresight, it will fall to ruins before we are ready to give society the means of reconstruction.

It is important that we study the matter, in order to see if society can accomplish the progress to which it tends without considerable modification in labor, and in the condition, of the laboring masses.

All progress in humanity is the consequence of some new fact upon which the progressive movement depends. To effect any social progress for the benefit of the working masses we must realize something new in their means of existence and in their surroundings.

Their means of existence is labor. Their surroundings embrace the workshop and the dwelling.

Every attempt at social reform will be fruitless if it changes nothing in the conditions of labor; and every attempt at reforming labor will be useless or insufficient without improving the habitations of workmen, and supplying the means for social enjoyment which every human being should possess.

The materials for such reform are elaborated in the workshop. It is by the progress of industry that the problem receives the preparatory solution; and this should be so, for to distribute we must produce. Labor alone can do this, and since

machinery and steam are brought to the aid of man, there is no limit to supply except that of demand.

Without going back far into the history of labor, we find nothing but small industries carried on, each artisan making his own tools to work with. The workshop is small, and the means of producing limited to the strength and skill of the laborer. The implements are imperfect, bungling, and badly adapted to use. The cultivation of the earth suffers from insufficient means as much as manufacturing itself.

Man thus reduced to his individual resources and inspirations makes use of complicated and wasteful methods. Production depends upon the routine of simple processes, which the state of isolation and the want of industrial capacity render difficult to change. In this stage of the development of industry little is produced, means of exchange are limited, and those of transportation almost entirely wanting. The time comes when the backs of mules and asses no longer suffice for carrying goods. Highways are then constructed, then canals and railroads extend the means of production and exchange in a marvellous manner.

Then little workshops are rapidly replaced by grand manufactories. Industry on a grand scale is established.

Mechanical combinations are invented to utilize the motive forces of nature and thus aid man in his labor, by multiplying his productive power a hundred-fold.

Means of action are concentrated ; the functions of labor are divided, and man is able to produce the things necessary to life at a price that could never have been possible in the little workshop, for he could not have united the three productive agents, labor, skill, and capital, in sufficient force for great production. Had he possessed the capital and the genius, muscles would have proved inadequate, and his power would have been always limited to that of the simple laborer.

In the absence of scientific methods, production is still accomplished on a grand scale because of the profits that result. Great manufactories are opened for the activity of the laborer ; steam plows deepen the furrows in the soil, machinery of all kinds is brought to aid man's industry, and all productions are increased and improved. Everywhere intelligence impresses itself upon the products of labor, but labor has only an indirect share in the advantages that result.

Nevertheless, the great industries of this century are the preparatory evolution in methods and processes of general production necessary to the coming emancipation of the laborer through association ; and while waiting for this eman-

cipation, new means of production develop the wealth indispensable to the well-being of mankind, and render accessible to the masses, fabrics, provisions, and objects of all kinds which, but a little while ago, even the princes of the people were deprived of.

It is perhaps consoling to reflect that for many centuries our fathers had no shirts ; that their greatest luxury of costume was a simple tunic the threads of which were slowly spun between the fingers of their wives, and that the greater number of them had nothing to wear but the skins of beasts !

II. THE PROGRESS OF ARCHITECTURE.

The progress of human intelligence in the means of production is not the only progress that has been accomplished. Architecture has kept pace with the new demands of modern industry, and the great factory has succeeded the little workshop.

It is to modern architecture that we owe those vast edifices where wool and cotton and flax and hemp are spun into a maze of threads as if by some magic power ; where nice automaton machinery weaves the most varied fabrics under the inspecting eye of man ; those immense halls where metals from fiery furnaces are melted, ground, drawn out, flattened by forces so imposing, that the old fable of the labor of the Cyclops in the forges of Vulcan sinks into contemptible insignificance. These marvels attest the regal sway of man over matter, and the power of labor upon the earth.

The improvement in methods of travel and transportation has stimulated labor to new efforts in building. Instead of the vast edifices of the past, which, by their massive display of materials are symbols of immobility, fixity, or sterile contemplation—if indeed they are not the expression of the subjugation of the people—instead of these, civilization and peace demand from the builder's art airiness, space, convenience in the construction of modern buildings where people meet and mingle—vast waves of population which rapid transit pours from city to city, province to province, and from nation to nation.

Architecture, art, and industry, before applying their regenerating power to the condition of the people, combine to give to the *Débarcadères* of this great pacific movement the grandiose aspect which those monuments of the fusion of

peoples deserve, before exercising their regenerating influence upon the condition of man.

Honor to the capital and the skill devoted to this work ! Humanity will do justice to it in the future, not seeing in them simple capitalists and speculators, but the benefactors of the race.

We may boldly draw this conclusion from the facts established, that progress in production leads to progress in industrial architecture, and that architecture, after having constructed the edifices necessary to the growth of production, should consider the dwellings of the working masses in a way to realize the best possible use of the profits of labor.

All these questions are being studied, and the march of progress is gradually leading to great changes ; for the idea of participation and association is taking firm hold of the minds of the people, and these will become a social necessity when the evolution of labor is sufficiently advanced for the laborer to take the position to which he aspires.

CHAPTER XVI

DISTRIBUTION.

I. THE RATE OF WAGES.

WAGES is to the workman what coal is to the furnace, oil to the engine. Coal and oil support the working of the machine. Wages support the life of the laborer. It is no more than the representative of that which man took from the common fund of nature before the idea of property came and robbed him of this domain of life.

The wages system leaves the laborer in a situation analogous to that of the primitive man, who is subject to the hazards, privations, and accidents of a wandering and savage life. The laborer is subjected to all the fluctuations of wages and to the uncertain supply of work. No guarantee for the future exists for either.

The wages system, far from affording the comforts that labor creates, hardly guarantees the necessities of life to the laborer. From this we may conclude that capital does not fulfil its duty toward labor.

In the present state of the organization of industry the increase of wages is attended with practical difficulties, even to those leaders of industry who are best disposed toward the working classes.

Unlimited competition is the principal cause of this. Competition is the struggle of industry with the cost of production, which embraces :

The price of the raw material,

Wages,

Interest on capital invested,

Usury and depreciation of capital.

The economical management of these several elements finds the best aid in the discovery of new processes ; but this is the work of genius, and all industries have not leaders capable of improving the methods of manufacturing.

In the absence of ingenious devices to perfect labor and enable the manufacturer to raise the wages of his workmen, if

he knows how to obtain at the lowest cost one or more of the elements of production, he is in a condition to sell cheaper and make a greater profit than is possible to those who take a different course.

Industrial competition, therefore, has a permanent tendency to lower wages, which is constantly resisted by labor.

The manufacturer loses sight of the fact that the sole end of labor is to make life more agreeable, and that it is with the amelioration of the life of the workman that we should commence. The manufacturer sees only the necessity of selling his products; and hence the difficulty of raising wages when other industries maintain theirs at the same rate.

On the other hand, laborers cannot understand a condition of things which is the negation of justice and of their rights. They resist, and instead of agreeing upon the minimum of wages, in a general way, for each branch of industry, they organize local strikes, which have little influence except to show the serious evils of modern labor, and the deplorable antagonism which exists between industrial chiefs and their workmen.

Economists of the *statu quo* and the cheap order see but one thing to do: to repress and put down strikes. Economists of the *laissez faire* (let alone) order, having no settled principles in the matter, demand liberty simply, for workmen and patrons; but men who look more deeply into the future feel that these means are inadequate, and that the solution of the problem of the relations between laborers and employers is to be found only in the harmony of relations between the different elements of industry.

Liberty will put these conflicting interests in position to demand their rights, but it can only be after the discovery of the law of their mutual agreement that peace can be established. But during the conflict that precedes the liberty of interests, so long sacrificed, measures will inevitably be resorted to by the representatives of labor, who will take the law into their own hands.

Would it not, therefore, be more sensible to avoid the positive demonstrations which, without care and management, will be sure to result, and commence in advance to call out very sincerely and loyally the real desires of working-men, and make each day a step in advance toward the reforms that labor has a right to hope for.

Such is my opinion; and therefore, as a manufacturer, I have sought to apply the results of my practical studies wherever it has been possible, in view of the difficulties that our laws oppose to the progress of ideas and facts.

Questions touching the relations between capital and labor are becoming more and more urgent. The rights of labor loudly assert themselves. The influence of raising or lowering wages, the principles for the regulation of workmanship, are everywhere discussed by workmen ; but the principles of economy that these questions include are still to be shown.

The influence of the rate of wages upon the activity of industry is but little understood at this time ; and still less the influence upon society of the equitable participation of the laborer in the profits of industry. A more just share accorded to labor would create more consumers for what is produced. Industry would not be compelled to seek its consumers abroad, except to effect necessary exchanges and for products of general and international use. Industry would find a ready market near at hand for its products. Few comprehend the significance of this one fact.

But such is the fate of man. His first function is to produce ; the second to consume ; and if, as we have shown, notable progress has been made in the manner of production, nothing has been accomplished toward the organization of consumption, or the use of products.

The remuneration accorded to labor, whatever its form, is, in the end, the part that it is allowed to take of the general products of industry. But in our society it is not sufficient to have done a great deal of work in order to have a right to the products of labor ; the workman must receive a sign of exchange—money—in order to have the right to buy these products. The money that the laborer receives in exchange for his work constitutes his wages. But wages may be low, while the amount of labor is considerable ; and the labor having cost but little, the product may be cheap. The great majority have nothing but their wages—if wages are low, they possess but little. He who possesses little can buy but little and consume but little, while he who possesses much can buy and consume much.

The ability to consume, then ; for the laborer is almost null, *even when products are cheap*. The poor can buy only according to their resources, while the rich can buy in quantities, and take advantage of sales when the market is low ; whence it follows that capital can consume almost everything, labor almost nothing.

But, say the supporters of low wages : "If you double wages, products will double in value ; the rich will be obliged to diminish their consumption ; a diminution in production will follow, and consequently the laborer will suffer for want

of work, and be deprived of all gain—which is much more serious than to be reduced to low wages.”

This is specious reasoning: the rich classes buying less, will pay the same price for a less quantity; a less amount of work from the laborer must support the same number of persons, and the rest of his labor may be devoted to satisfying his own needs. The products of labor, instead of making superfluities for some, will be accessible to the masses for the satisfaction of their needs.

But suppose that wages are doubled. It does not follow, therefore, that the products of industry will double their value. The industry of the United States, of America, where the laborer quite ordinarily receives three dollars a day, is a proof of this. The United States compete with other nations in cheapness of production. This is due to the fact that, beside the labor of man, there is that of nature and machinery. These last tend daily to increased development under the influence of well-paid labor.

Increased wages permit a consumption on the part of laborers which much more than compensates for the decreased consumption on the part of the rich.

Some pretend that the increase of wages will not sensibly influence the condition of the workman. This is a great mistake. It is inspired by egoism, and both the laws of life and facts signally condemn it. But let us calculate the result without reference to the numerous facts which in society confirm the necessity for increasing wages.

Suppose that the income of a capitalist allows him to consume	100
And that the wages of the workman allow him to consume 1; then it will take a <i>hundred</i> workmen to consume	100
Total	<hr/> 200

Therefore the capitalist consumes a quantity equal to that consumed by <i>one hundred</i> workmen. But if the same capitalist consumes	100
We will suppose that the wages of workmen are doubled; <i>one hundred workmen</i> then will consume	200
Total	<hr/> 300

Consumption will be augmented, but the capitalist, who in the first case consumes half the products, in the second case consumes only one-third. The augmentation of wages increases the price of products, and consumption augments for the benefit of labor and diminishes on the part of capital.

It follows, therefore, if we admit the quantity of products represented as in the first case, by..... 200.00
 Capital will consume only 66.66
 And labor will consume..... 133.34

The diffusion of wealth is therefore effected by the increase of wages, and its concentration by the decrease of wages. But, it is urged, the instruments of labor, machinery, and tools, will cost more; therefore the balance will put capital and labor on the same plane as before.

No; the value of machinery and tools will increase, it is true, but instead of contributing to raise the price of production, the machine leads to a contrary result, and the final effects in no way touch the salutary consequences to the laborer of raising his wages. The truth is, the cutting down of wages is a grievous wrong which the law, from this time forward, should establish as a punishable offence.

When industry experiences a surfeit of products, which in itself lowers the cost of production, it is a culpable act, at such times, to put the poverty of the laborer under contribution by exacting work from him at a lower price, which still further increases the encumbering stock and prolongs the crisis indefinitely.

Labor executed under such circumstances is often a shameful speculation for big profits, upon which the exploiter counts for recovering himself in his business; a result which he can very well wait for, while the workman is ground down by privations.

Under such circumstances it is the duty of industry, instead of aggravating the evil, to try to find a remedy for it.

The increase of wages is a law of industrial progress, as is also emancipation of labor.

Under the present system of economy, gold and silver being the representatives of wealth produced, the laborer can never be persuaded that he ought to be as well contented to receive five, as ten, francs of this representative, since ten represents two quantities instead of one of every commodity.

There is, in fact, a veritable displacement of the general wealth. Gold and silver are limited. That which is in the

hands of one cannot be in the hands of others. In proportion as monetary values are in many hands, circulation is active, and in less danger of accidents than when all resources of capital are concentrated in the hands of a small number, who, more sensitive to events, to political disturbances, cause frequent industrial crises, first by the arrest of production and then of consumption.

There are certain laws of economy that society cannot escape. The mutation of wealth is one of these. Aristocratic wealth disappears inevitably before the wealth of commerce and speculation, as these in their turn must give way to the wealth of creative and productive labor. The era of COLLECTIVE WEALTH is slowly preparing by the side of individual wealth.

But these metamorphoses cannot take place without a thousand gloomy prophecies on the part of certain economists. But once the fact of the change accomplished, society rubs its eyes, finds itself still standing, and, after a little, comes to its senses, and finds that a new progress is realized.

The most important fact which will immediately result from such metamorphosis will be a more general distribution of the fruits of labor, which now, through an idle and dissipated opulence, gorge the great cities, to the great injury of the functions of the social body.

It is true that the demand for futile and unproductive luxuries will absorb a smaller part of general labor ; but the production of articles of common use, convenience, and enjoyment, will be greatly increased, and the condition of the people will improve in proportion as these become accessible.

The places where labor is performed will be embellished. The aspect of poverty in the country and manufacturing centres will disappear. Labor will realize something more than a meagre rate of wages from the enormous wealth created under its hand. The workshop and the dwelling of the laborer, hitherto left to fate, will lose their aspect of poverty and neglect.

Labor will acquire liberty in all its manifestations ; and as commerce and speculation are acquiring the power that once belonged only to the nobility, so labor, in its turn, will take the place in society to which it aspires, and to which it has a right.

These are general aspirations of labor. They are being made apparent by demands for higher wages, or for a reduction of the hours of work ; and strikes will continue the weapon of the laborer until the true rule of justice is found and applied, which will harmonize the different elements of production.

Neither the increase nor the decrease of wages will bring this about. The law for this harmony is to be found in the association of interests, and the first term in the equation must be the Right of Participation.

From the day when the laborer takes part in the decisions which shall accord to capital the interest recognized as just, and to wages the part legitimately due, from the day when the laborer will be certain of sharing in the profits of any enterprise in which he is concerned, in proportion to his merit, there will be no strikes possible; but there will be laborers devoted to the success of every great agricultural enterprise and to manufactories of every kind,* for their interest will be in perfect accord with the object of these undertakings, through the hope of a dividend proportioned to the effort they have made and the work they have accomplished.

The workman will then change his long-continued hostility to the interests of the patron into a careful attention to everything that tends to secure the prosperity and success of the industry in which his own interest is involved. Then work will be well done, and productions brought to the highest degree of perfection, for workmen and patrons will be animated by that *esprit de corps* which inspires every soldier in an army to support the honor of the flag.

II. PAUPERISM.

Great progress has been realized in most branches of industry, but its effects are only manifest on the products and on the means of producing. The condition of man, instead of improving in proportion to this progress, has developed a

* It is often objected that when the laborer obtains a share in the profits of great enterprises he will be able to obtain the necessities of life for a few hours' work, and his tendency will be to idleness the rest of the time, which will cause a scarcity of laborers.

This objection is a relic of the old theory of total depravity. Idleness and laziness are states of disease, not of health. In the ignorant laborer who has been worked like a cart-horse all his life, his dream of bliss may possibly be one eternal rest—"one big sleep," as the Indian says. Idleness or inactivity on his part arises from an exhausted system, while in the idle rich class it is simply want of muscular development—in both cases abnormal.

The healthful human being delights in activity. The truth is he works all the time when not sleeping; that is, his faculties are in con-

new form of pauperism which afflicts all the centres of industry; and, by a singular anomaly, it is in those very places where human industry is the greatest, where man with the greatest ease and rapidity creates the luxuries and necessities of life, that we see the most misery accumulated.

And yet, if man is most miserable in condition where he labors most, it is evidently due to the subversion of all notions of right industrial organization, and of the most simple principles of social equity.

When agriculture and manufacturing have arrived where our present civilization has brought them, when such prodigies of mechanism are under the control of man, what use is the wealth of products daily accumulating if they are not to increase the social happiness of the race? This vast production is only an evil if it be simply to afford a few fortunate ones the means of a refinement carried to the extreme, while the great majority of human beings become brutalized in the midst of the disorder and poverty where the force of circumstances obliges them to pass their lives, and where everything is wanting to elevate the soul and ennoble the heart.

Is not the evil sufficiently apparent? Look at England. Is there not there misery enough by the side of its luxury and opulence to establish the urgency of remedying this painful contrast?

No one denies the supreme value of the function of labor. No one questions its essentially moralizing virtues; and yet, even in this, the results obtained are in manifest contradiction to the laws of nature. The present state of industry, instead of elevating man, leads the masses to poverty; indifference to moral dignity is the consequence.

These effects are exactly the reverse of what labor ought to

stant play, and if society is organized for the benefit of all, all activity will count for the general good.

One must be singularly lacking in the power to observe if he fails to see that the love of useful employment is a veritable passion among mankind, and not simply and always from the hope of personal benefit. One of the most striking examples of this is the old man, often with one foot in the grave, planting out young trees which he knows well he can never hope to benefit by, except in the thought that he is doing something for the good of posterity.

No; the human heart is not depraved, though it suffers a thousand wrongs for want of true integral culture. We have only to touch the right spring, even in degraded men, and the response will confirm our statement. All are capable of devotion to the good and the beautiful in some degree; and the business of society is to keep in constant view, constant action, the best, not the worst, possibilities of man.—Tr.

produce, and result from the want of a true organization of labor and justice in the relations of men. The law of justice would consecrate labor to the progress of all mankind.

Those who have given any attention to the condition of the industrial populations of our time have been especially struck with the moral degradation that poverty produces upon a certain number of the working-classes. Is this condition, which the concentration of masses brings into relief, peculiar to industrial centres? Is it less real in the isolation of the country, because less apparent? The same causes produce everywhere the same effects. Where capital and the control of labor are concentrated in a few hands, poverty and wealth exist side by side.

A fact that is clearly established is this : where the spirit of emulation, or the excitation common to concentrated populations, cannot find expression in the order of useful faculties, it leads individuals to injurious activities through disgust of their kind of life.

Seeing poverty and wretchedness more prevalent in industrial centres, many have concluded that this is attributable to the fact of the greater agglomeration of people there. From an apparent effect they have thought to deduce an invariable cause. They forget that it is a law in morals as well as in physics, that great forces are capable of producing evil or good according to the way they are directed.

Great human agglomerations become the focus of industrial and moral perfection when their forces are wisely directed, or they tend to contrary results when subjected to a false direction.

It is to vicious organization that we must impute, for example, the facility with which, in the centres of industry, the laborer abandons himself to the folly of intemperance, while the laboring farmer and the village artisan are more sober. For these, the isolation of the country leaves the mind inactive, while the laborer in great manufactories has his faculties constantly excited by contact with his fellows ; and if noble and worthy objects are wanting as aliment for the mental attractions, the wine-shops are unfailing. Nothing is offered to render it easy for the laborer to make a good use of his money ; but, on the contrary, all base schemes unite to seduce him into foolish and abusive squandering of the wages which are already insufficient for the wants of his family. Nothing is done to render the workman's home attractive. In the great majority of cases it is desolate from the absence of the

necessaries of life, or repulsive from the sordid poverty of its appointments.* It is not surprising, therefore, that the laborer should yield to the outside temptations offered him.

III. NECESSITY OF SHARING PROFITS.

The social problem embraces production, distribution, and consumption. These three parts of Social Life are so united that questions relating to one cannot be solved without the aid of the others. There is, then, no possible and definite solution of the social problem except in the organization which will give to these the most favorable direction for the progress and development of Human Life.

The indigence of the working-classes is to-day the gravest problem before society, for it involves that of the distribution and use of the products of labor.

The greater part of men, up to this time, have seen in the progress of industry nothing more than the development of production; but there is more to be seen. It is not enough to witness this surging human activity for the purpose of examining the effects; we should understand what it means, and seek to organize labor upon the basis of equitable distribution, and, further, to create surroundings for the laborer which will afford him and his family the means of making a useful and intelligent disposition of the fruits of his labor—a use which shall best harmonize with the objects of life.

* There seem to be very few new discoveries made relative to the causes that make husbands, as well as bachelors, prefer the club, the bar-room, etc., to the family circle. It is always want of comfort, want of quiet, want of attractions generally, at home. This is doubtless true, but it is not all of the truth, since thousands of men leave the pleasantest homes for these outside attractions. And just here we may say that, if the home is so squalid and mean that the man, who passes comparatively few of his waking hours there, is to be excused for refusing to submit to it, the woman, who is confined there all the time, ought to be excused when she runs away from it altogether!

The simple truth is, no private circle satisfies all the wants and aspirations of any well-conditioned human being. The world is in fact our rightful field of culture and development. Men, women, and children have a right to "outside amusements," and they should be provided in variety and abundance; but so adapted to human wants that they tend to real culture while they amuse, and so organized that, while they gratify the higher artistic and social demands, they do not involve pecuniary distress.—Tr.

Human activity is equal to the task of the salvation of society, but on condition that it shall take a direction consistent with the Laws of Life. This direction has not been possible in the past owing to the disturbances created by war, which destroys the wealth produced by man, and, at the same time, man himself.

Man struggling for life with his fellow-man destroys, but builds nothing. War brings in its train all the evils that turn society from beneficent projects for the good of all.

And war—this is all the past of humanity! But the blindness and the ambition of princes have reached their term. Very soon they will lose the power to force human beings, like cattle, into slaughtering pens called battle-fields. Society feels the need of breathing an atmosphere of peace and industry. Soon the struggle will not be against the evils proceeding from outside wars excited by the stupidity and the wickedness of governments, but against the evils resulting from the bad use of the products of labor and the unjust distribution of wealth.

Wealth should honor labor, and do it full justice; and laborers should respect capital in the hands of those who consecrate it to rendering labor productive, to augmenting wealth and making it accessible to all.

Men of genius, pioneers of humanity, continue your regenerating mission. Devote generously the leaven of your works to the sanctuary of labor, and claim justice and equity for all.

The time to organize has come. *It is not sufficient to attack the iniquity of institutions due to the ignorance of the past.* We must seek the means for the salvation of the future.

The first step toward this end is the concert and accord of the productive forces. This is to be accomplished by the equitable distribution of the products of labor. The equity of distribution is simple obedience to the laws of right and duty.

The comforts of opulence show us to what the perfection of individual life aspires. It is not, then, for opulence that the existing state of things should be changed. Misery and poverty, on the contrary, are social evils in all their ugliness; and here we must commence the application of a remedy which will give the poor free access to a more decent and agreeable existence.

As soon as the worst aspects of poverty are removed, labor and wealth will not be so widely separated. The relations between men will be more natural, agreeable, and sympa-

thetic, and humanity will have conquered the social condition which is its destiny.

What may we expect from France? Will she do like England? Manifest a complete indifference to the fate of the masses? Will she let this propitious moment of the development of grand industries pass without inaugurating an equitable division of the profits arising from labor, and without effecting a reform in the dwellings of workmen?

If common-sense and science are not directed to these matters, France, like England, will soon witness still greater degradation and misery among the laboring-classes.

CHAPTER XVII.

ASSOCIATION OF LABOR AND CAPITAL.

I. ELEMENTS OF DISTRIBUTION.

We have seen that nature precedes man in the production of the things necessary to the race ; she has provided for his primitive needs, created the material upon which his forces can act, and thus has established the Primordial Right of All to the Natural Productions.

The transformation of matter that man effects by labor is only a complement of things already existing—an element of new life with which man enriches life in general.

In proportion as man, through labor, conquers the elements, he makes use of the resources that nature holds in reserve. The primordial right of all to the products of nature becomes confounded through the products created by labor, and merges into the social right to artificial wealth, which increases as man takes advantage of the resources of nature in his methods of labor.

Natural production represents that which proceeds from the action of the elements ; and as this action is universal it is confounded with that of man, *so that, if it affirms clearly the right of all to the minimum*, it does not specialize itself in the production of man, nor can it be estimated except by the need which its function is to satisfy.

The labor of man succeeds the productive forces of nature. Physical and mental work of all kinds—labor in agriculture and manufacturing, in industries of all forms, in teaching, in the arts and sciences—constitute the human contingent of production. Labor generally embraces all human activity ; but it specially qualifies the activity of man directed to the transformation of matter.

Labor precedes wealth as it precedes science. Talent, capacity, and genius increase the value of labor and enrich society with useful discoveries and applications, which enlarge the circle of activity and constitute the reserve or intellectual

accumulation designated under the names of science, art, and invention.

Genius aids labor and capital by discoveries which increase and perfect the development of production.

An invention is a conception of genius carried into action. To inventions society owes new resources continually, and new means of producing useful things. Science and the arts are works of genius amassed in the world to assure the easy means of transforming matter.

When the results of human activity are material—that is to say, when they are of a nature to serve, under any form, our constant needs—the surplus is designated as capital or wealth.

Capital, then, represents anterior labor. It is the equivalent of labor saved up and held in reserve. Not having entered into consumption, it can serve to aid in a new enterprise. It therefore plays a useful part in giving to labor easy means of applying the discoveries and inventions of genius; but its rôle is entirely passive. Its influence is not manifested in production except under the impulse given to it by labor and skill.

Capital, whether in the form of lands, fabrics, machinery, or raw material, needs the vivifying influence of labor to make it useful, and the aid of genius to discover the means to make the most of everything.

The wants of human life unite the different sources of production in a close solidarity; and therefore we ought, after having defined these sources of wealth, to seek the means of uniting them upon principles of *equitable distribution*, in conformity to the natural right, and proportional in all cases to the aid given by each.

Distributive Justice should preside over the interests of the different factors of production. This is the social problem to be solved.

II. NECESSITY OF EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION.

As soon as industry reaches a certain development, it gives rise, under one form or another, to the union of those who possess capital, those who do manual work, and those who have the capacity of organization. Nothing of importance can be effected by one of these alone.

Now let us see how these three forces are at present distributed.

Capital takes its place as sovereign master. It admits no sharing in the proceeds neither by labor nor talent.

The force of circumstances has always accorded to labor about enough to feed the laborer. Wages represent to-day the amount that all those receive who are employed in the service of others. Is it just that labor should be counted out of all direct participation, and that its aid in production should be due only to the laws of necessity? He who possesses resources profits from the superiority of his position; but that does not justify him in abusing his trust.

Invention has rarely been distinguished from other labor. It is confounded with it, and submits to the same laws. The inventor is always the prey of the strong when he is poor; and yet invention is the most powerful lever of modern industry. Wherever it has found its place it has created industrial prosperity; but it can do nothing without the assistance of capital and labor. Now, as capital, labor, and invention are indispensably necessary to the creation of things of use, they should be united in sharing the profits which they create; and yet one of these enjoys nearly all the results. Capital absorbs everything. Labor and invention have no direct interest in the definite results. The consequence is that while capital, which is interested in the profits, is careful of all the processes, labor is completely indifferent, when, indeed, it is not hostile.

Such is the result of the errors under which the world still labors, in regard to the principles of the true organization of labor.

The distribution of the products of industry, as it now exists, is a kind of social groping in the dark. There is no rule, no principle serving as a basis.

If, in the actual conduct of any business of production, it appears equitable to give an interest to capital in return for the service it renders, and if it appears equally just to remunerate genius and labor according to their usefulness, it is certainly not equitable, when these three unite in a collective work of production, that one should arrogate all the profits of the enterprise, except the amount paid as wages and the emoluments of talent and genius. There is no reason nor justice in this, and the masses know it; hence their continued calls for equity in the division of the products of labor.

This sentiment has entered deeply into the ideas of our time; and society will do well to take note of it. The contrasts of poverty and opulence due to the present division is so evident that the people will not fail very soon to demand a

change, and it behooves intelligent people to meet this demand if they would avoid disastrous consequences.

Equity in the division of the products of labor should be henceforth the basis of order in society ; not order imposed by force, but true and durable order, resting upon the gratification of all the faculties that have, by the will of the Creator, a right to the products of labor. Equity in distribution is the first step toward removing the apple of discord from among men. Its practice will teach us to be just, and to apply to our acts the principle of true morality.

III. THE PRINCIPLE OF DISTRIBUTION.

To labor, capital, invention, and natural production is due all that is necessary to human life. We must find the representative quota of the rights of each of these four sources of production. The rule for determining this is to be discovered, since up to this time their union has not been well characterized.

Let us try to see how, by practical and simple means, we can establish the rule for *equitable distribution* in harmony with the Laws of Life.

The price of labor in any new or exceptional work is regulated by agreement, and by certain customary rates when the work is of an ordinary kind whose object and value are well determined. Sometimes it is regulated by the time that the labor is to be employed.

Capital renders a service to production which is recognized by the payment of interest. This interest varies according to the importance of the service. It is subject to fluctuations, of which banks mark the rate. It is regulated by convention or agreement, and in default of these by the law.

Invention, genius, or talent have the right to a premium proportioned to the importance of the invention or improvement they have made.

Natural production legitimatizes the *social right* of each. It constitutes the part necessary to assure the protection due to the weak, and liberty and progress in life to all. In the present state of our society, taxes, insurances, and mutual relief funds are a feeble representation of this.

Labor, capital, and invention being the means of production depending on man, distribution must be established on the *proportionality* of these. The common social right of all, being the representation of a right to the natural support af-

forded by nature, is measured by the *minimum of support* indispensable to those who cannot take care of themselves by their personal resources.

These general principles once presented, it is easy to conceive their application to distribution.

Wages, interest on capital, and prizes being first deducted from the disposable part of the products, the net profits are then distributed to the social reserve, to labor, to capital, and to invention, proportioned to their legitimate rights represented by :

The wages of labor,
Interest or rent of capital,
Prizes to invention,
The part due to social needs.

Therefore, from the profits remaining after all expenses are paid, equitable distribution will give in the future :

To Social Prevision the *minimum indispensable* to insure each one against misfortune ;

To laborers a *dividend proportioned to the wages*, salaries, or emoluments that they may have received for work executed ;

To capital a *dividend proportioned to the interest* or rent agreed upon, be it for the farm, the workshop, machinery and tools, or raw material which it may have furnished ;

To inventors a *dividend proportioned to the prizes* awarded to their discoveries.

IV. EXAMPLES OF DISTRIBUTION.

We will give first a transitional example, in which capital, having the power to fix the conditions of the distribution, has reserved a very high rate of interest, say fifteen percent., while consenting to the principles of distribution just indicated.

In a workshop the balance-sheet shows that it has paid during the year :

For wages and salaries to two hundred and fifty	Francs.
workmen and employees	225,000
For interest on one million francs at fifteen	
percent	150,000
For invention and direction	25,000
Total	400,000
Net profits for the year	60,000

From this sum we deduct first for the reserve fund a percentage corresponding to the Natural Right to natural productions. We will suppose that practice and experience has represented this as five percent. of the value of these various united interests, that is, 20,000 francs. There remain then 40,000 francs to share.

There is ten per cent. to distribute to all the interests which have a first right in the concern. Capital presents its interest coupons, the laborers and inventors their memoranda of wages, etc., and each one receives ten percent. on the sums paid him. The thing is done.

Under the present way of conducting industry capital alone would have taken the whole 60,000 francs.

Under the proposed system of co-operation there would be accorded

	Francs.
The Social Prevision fund (insurance)	20,000
To labor	22,500
To invention	2,500
And to capital	15,000
Total	60,000

In this example labor brings 225,000 francs of the values creating the profits; capital, 1,000,000 francs for buildings, instruments of labor, etc., which have served in the production; invention and direction, 25,000 francs.

The 225,000 francs in wages is paid when labor has delivered the goods; capital gets back its 1,000,000 francs on the sale of the products; then the amount due to invention and to the administration are deducted from the receipts; for this distribution regards the inventors and administrators in the concern as laborers, and therefore they have the minimum of salary.

The claims of invention and administrative capacity are only justified by the success of the business, and their gain is not counted until after the accomplishment of their mission. The absence of profits would be a sufficient reason for their receiving nothing.

Every industrial establishment, every industrial enterprise, could easily make analogous conditions of distribution, making laborers participants until the time when they will become co-operative associates.

The gravest obstacle will come from those who count on the low rate of wages to enable them to compete in producing

low-priced goods. The partisans of cheap products do not know that the consequence of their system is distress and poverty to the laborer ; and that it would be far preferable to have products sold at a higher price, because of fair wages to the workmen, than to try to produce goods at a low price, which often cannot be effected except by robbing the workman of his just due, and thereby preventing him from making use of the products of industry.

We will now give an example of more advanced combinations in the way of the association of all the elements of production.

An industrial establishment employing a thousand workmen and assistants of different orders decides to operate upon the industrial co-operation of labor, capital, and skill. The three elements are summoned to regulate the basis of distribution.

Wages and salaries are fixed at the customary rates. The capital offered is three millions of francs, and it is found that two millions are sufficient to carry on the business ; yet those interested say that if they admit a supplementary million to the capital invested in buildings, material, and floating capital strictly necessary, they will be able to buy raw material for cash at the most favorable moments at a discount, and, moreover, to wait the expiration of the time for payment of goods delivered, thereby avoiding discounting the notes of the establishment. Thus is saved one profit that would otherwise go to the banks, and another on the purchases of raw material. The three millions, then, are admitted to the concern at an interest of six percent.

Labor is generous toward capital under the system of equitable distribution, because it recognizes its value to the laborer.

These preliminary bases settled by the parties interested, through delegates for the purpose, nothing remains but the simple question of keeping the books of the establishment.

Independent of the general business accounts of the company relative to the industrial and commercial management, there is kept a special auxiliary book where all the interested parties have their wages or salary accounts. Besides this, each participant keeps a pocket account-book in which is inscribed each day the wages earned or other rights of participation, so that each individual holds in his own hands a copy of his account.

In this way on the day of settlement the accounts of the establishment clearly present the claims of each in the general distribution.

We will suppose these rights established in the following manner :

	FRANCS.
Interest on three million francs at six percent . . .	180,000
Wages, salaries, etc., of the thousand workmen, clerks, employees, and administrators, paid during the term of business	1,000,000
Prizes to inventors and the remuneration of administrative capacity	80,000
Total rights in the distribution	<u>1,260,000</u>

During the term of the business there has been sold 2,500,000 francs' worth of products, presenting after the balance of accounts a net profit of	441,000
The sum due to Natural Prevision, as a minimum or equivalent of the natural right of each to the bounties of nature, being five percent. upon the principal represented by all the interests, is	63,000
Balance to be distributed	<u>378,000</u>

Dividing this 378,000 by 1,260,000 we have thirty percent of dividend to distribute between labor, capital, and skill. Therefore, every thousand francs of wages, every thousand francs of salaries, every thousand francs of interest, and every thousand francs given as prizes to inventors, receives three hundred francs of dividend.

V. ELASTICITY OF THE PRINCIPLE OF ASSOCIATION.

The principle of the right of participation founded on this basis is in its nature a true one, and simple in practical application.

The conditions of its application, however—supposing that there is perfect agreement, tacit or expressed, between the elements co-operating—are essentially variable. The rates of interest, of wages, and of prizes are subject to variations determined by the need that the productive factors have of each other ; but once these factors have fixed their respective rights, according to their utility in production, they remain on

a footing of equality in the distribution of supplementary profits, and the principle ought to become invariable. A franc of wages will come in for the same as a franc of interest ; but the rate of wages and of prizes to inventions will be fixed in advance by agreement ; or, this failing, the legal rate of interest and the customary rates of wages must serve as guides.

It should not be lost sight of here, that equality of wages and interest in the distribution of profits is preserved throughout. It should be remembered, also, that notwithstanding this equality the part taken by labor and by capital in production will none the less continue infinitely variable, according to the will of the associates.

One industry might reserve five percent. interest on capital, another ten percent. and so on, so that considerable differences might be established in the relations of capital and labor without detracting anything from the principle of the equality of their rights in the net profits of production.

The objections, therefore, against the equality of the rights of wages and interest in distribution are without value. There is no need of any useless complication in distribution ; a franc of wages receives the same amount as a franc of capital.

When many contracting parties are recognized as indispensable in an enterprise, each must have a right proportional to his aid in the work and receive accordingly. Interest, wages, prizes agreed upon, are the representatives of the aid that each has added to the production.

Capital, like labor, fixes its conditions beforehand. If the interest on capital rises, labor receives less. If wages rise, the dividends of labor are increased. The rise or fall of interest, wages, and prizes meet all combinations by their mobility.

It is useless to complicate distribution. If wages or interest has any reason to complain, it must accommodate itself to circumstances. By varying the rates, the dividends vary proportionally ; there is therefore no necessity to establish troublesome differences in the rights to profits.

Capital and labor, while uniting under the protection of a principle which makes them interested in the success of every enterprise, are none the less free in their movements. Labor goes without restraint where capital is less exacting, while capital looks for the labor that will give the most advantageous results.

It is evident that all capital will not be admitted on the same basis ; but as there is perfect liberty in agreement, there need be no absolute rule. Each association or participating

company makes its own conditions, establishes its rules and modifies them as it pleases. For example, obligations guaranteed may receive a fixed interest and no share whatever in the profits. The invested capital may receive a greater or less rate of interest than the floating capital. Experience will show in any particular enterprise what combinations are the most advantageous.

As every workman should reserve the right to discuss his wages, so also should capital reserve its right to discuss its conditions.

There is no difficulty in inaugurating the principle of equitable participation in the profits of production on the basis of the proportionality of the aid received from labor, capital, and skill, recognized and admitted by argument or by usage. There is no change necessary in the present manner of conducting business. The only thing is to decide in advance the rate of interest on capital invested in the enterprise, if we do not wish that the legal rate of interest should rule.

Trustees, directors, clerks, agents, overseers, laborers discuss their emoluments, their salaries, their wages. Each one takes part in the production and withdraws when he pleases, or according to his agreement, without disturbing either the functions or the course of the business. In retiring, each preserves his rights in the distribution of profits according to the amount of the remuneration he has acquired; and anyone entering the concern later will have rights measured by the remuneration he receives up to the day of distribution. In withdrawing from the enterprise, the director, like the laborer, will cease to participate in the profits.

But every new principle has a struggle for existence. The association of capital, labor, and skill in production will find resistance; yet this will give way before the force of the motives that public sentiment will see in the justice of its application.

VI. NECESSARY GUARANTEES.

When industry becomes perfectly organized, the principle of the participation of labor will become a social right more deeply felt than it is now, when it is involved with the individual right of each to the possession of his implements of labor. Great organized industries, owning all machinery and tools, and concentrating production, will, because of the progress accomplished, afford the laborer much more than an equiv-

alent for the ownership of his tools. It will afford him superior resources of comfort and greater prosperity.

The association of labor, capital, and skill as a social progress will march hand in hand with industrial progress, and, far from injuring each other, they will work harmoniously together for the conquest of all reforms.

Moreover, association will prove a remedy for the obstacles to our industrial progress, for it is the key to that industrial organization on which must rest the future prosperity of nations. The participation of labor and skill is not one of those vague formulæ whose practical sense is incomprehensible, like the old cry of "the rights of labor," formerly thrown to the wind of publicity.

The right of the participation of labor is no more difficult to understand than the right of the participation of capital. It is a most simple arithmetical question.

The right of the participation of labor neither increases the cost of production nor hinders the progress of industry. The principle can be applied to all enterprises without modifying the conduct of business, and consequently is applicable to modern industry in its present state. The blind resistance of prejudice in this, as in all progress, is the only obstacle to conquer.

The guarantees of different kinds which the laborer should have present no obstacle to the new system. They are already, more or less, embraced in practical industry under the influence of the desire on the part of industrial leaders to find remedies for the unfortunate among workmen. The principle of participation develops all the tendencies to benevolence and justice toward the laborer.

There is really no difficulty in the practice of the participation of labor and skill in the profits of industry conjointly with that of capital.

This principle, freely accepted, will tend gradually to the association of all human interests. Then individualism will disappear, as also will egoism, which is its outgrowth and which constantly leads man to forget the rights of others. Association will inspire more humane sentiments, and the rights of all will be respected and protected.

A right too long ignored is that of the laborer to a minimum of support when incapable of working. This is perhaps the first social right that labor will have to establish in practice, and then to oppose the anarchy of competition and the consequent undervaluation of the price of products.

This right, founded on the aid that nature gives without

cost to all human industry, should give rise to a social prevision for the benefit of all, proportioned to the value that labor has afforded in the creation of wealth.

Not only should industry pay labor its wages, but it should pay the Social Prevision reserve, giving the disabled laborer a minimum of support, which all have a right to in the name of the universal right to the preservation and the support of life—a right that society must soon confirm.

The importance of establishing this Social Prevision reserve in the manner we have indicated, instead of raising relief funds by retaining a portion of the wages according to the custom in many establishments, will be evident at once; for the retention of any part of the laborer's wages diminishes directly his means of living, and this is contrary to right.

In counting this reserve among the general costs of production, the tax is thus diffused over the mass of products proportionally to their value. It is, therefore, supported by those who are benefited by it, while the wages of the laborer are left intact. No matter to what enterprise capital loans itself in the domain of industry, the first duty is to pay the laborer the wages by which he lives. But the products of labor must also serve to support the masses; therefore it is indispensable to add to the wages fund a necessary proportion for the Social Prevision reserve; for as the workman lives by his labor, justice demands that he should be protected from want if he should become incapable of laboring; and his family must live whatever happens.

Production in all countries should support its first costs, among which reserve funds for education, for illness, and for the laborer when old, should be counted.

How many idle fears afflict the minds of the timid or selfish in contemplating a possible reduction of the profits of capital! They may rest assured that there will be ample compensation for this reduction; for, if labor finds in the equity of distribution its legitimate advantages, the new prosperity which all industrial enterprises will enjoy under the happy influence of the change, and the security which capital will have thereby assured to itself, will be compensations greatly surpassing the few sacrifices that it may make to general interests.

Industrial capital at present is exposed to the positive hostility of labor, and, in fact, escapes the effects of this hostility only by vigilant management; and how many industries have to succumb under the unforeseen burden of expenses occasioned by the absence of unity in the work of production!

This will not occur under the system of co-operation. Why, we shall see the workmen themselves organizing committees of inspection to prevent the spoiling of work, not through a hostile spirit, but from awkwardness or carelessness.

But the main objection brought against the right of labor to participation is this: In every enterprise they say capital runs all the risks. It is by this risk that the enterprise is developed. If capital is lost, labor does not indemnify it; and therefore, if the enterprise succeeds, capital should have the advantages.

This is the reasoning of the lion's share; but justice will one day take the part of the weak, and the time approaches when labor must have its rights in the fruits of industry. The argument against these rights is wholly specious.

It is not true that labor runs no risk. Its losses are under a different form, but they are none the less real for that.

Is it no loss to labor when wages are cut down?

Is it no loss to labor when workshops and factories stop their work?

Under such circumstances, is not the laborer obliged to exhaust all his resources while waiting until his work is needed? And if he has no resources, is he not obliged to suffer privations? The capitalist in the case of failing enterprises suffers only loss of profits or a decrease of his capital.

The laborer, on the contrary, suffers from the fluctuations of business, by the sacrifice of his savings and by privations and anxieties which often injure his health.

Capital and labor have their share in the risks of production,* and it is just that each should share in its prosperity. The principle of participation in the surplus fruits of production is every way right and just, and it behooves the nineteenth century to inaugurate it in general practice.

But equitable distribution is only one term of the problem of social reform. At this point of our *exposé* we believe it

*How can it be refuted that the risk of the laborer is always greater than that of the capitalist? The capitalist may guard himself by ample and good securities, and therefore, in many cases at least, he may run no risk in case of the failure of an enterprise, while there is absolutely no security for the laborer. If the work stops, if factories burn, or if any accident happen, the laborer is the first to suffer; and if he has nothing to back upon, as is most generally the case, the horrid fear of seeing his family reduced to want destroys his peace, and, as M. Godin says, often undermines his health. If his health goes, there is superadded to hearing his children crying for bread the enlivening prospect of death in the poorhouse!—Tr.

well to say, that if the work were to stop here, it would be very imperfect and far from producing a social amelioration proportionate to the demands of the time.

It is consonant with the law of progress that man should organize labor and production, and also that he should organize distribution ; but it is also consonant with the law that he should organize the consumption of the wealth produced ; for the proper employment of wealth is the necessary complement of the law of life. Without this, human progress would lack impulse and motive.

The creation of wealth and its distribution, implying its employment for the greatest good to human life, implies consequently the organization of the happiness of humanity by the preparation of surroundings adapted to produce happiness. Man must realize in the employment of wealth a progress equivalent to that exacted by the elements of production ; and it is by creating palaces for laborers—the *social palace* by the side of the manufactory, and in the midst of agricultural industries, that this progress will be accomplished and the best fruits of association be secured for the future.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION—DWELLINGS.

I. THE EMPLOYMENT OF WEALTH.

WE have examined the laws of labor and production. We have seen their meaning and object in man's need of wealth to satisfy the faculties and the wants through which he lives.

We have seen that, as nature and labor create the wealth necessary for man, the distribution of wealth is a necessary part of the laws of social life.

But it is not enough to labor, to produce, and to create wealth ; it is not enough to accomplish marvels of industry, nor to use in a small way the objects created by industry. It is not even sufficient that men should divide among themselves the wealth that labor produces ; all this is insufficient to insure the grand progress of humanity.

Progress being the object of the human race, when man has seriously undertaken the organization of production, he must not only solve the problem of distribution, but that of consumption as well.

When industry has conquered the means of producing the necessities of life in abundance, all the members of society should be placed in condition to consume these products in a manner worthy of the rank that the human race occupies on the earth.

From the abundance of production to the abundance of consumption there remains a great work to accomplish. To produce and foolishly use is an unwise way of life. To produce wealth, and to make a good and wise use of it, is the law of our destiny.

To consume for the sake of consuming is to live like the inferior animals. To consume with intelligence is consonant with the position nature has given man on the globe ; consonant with the noblest ends of life, with love and fraternity ;

for the intelligent use of wealth cannot exist except under the ægis of the love of our kind.

What means the use of wealth if it is not the life, the comfort, the happiness of the masses through the possibility of their enjoying the means of existence? And if the employment of wealth has often its dull times or its periods of suspension, is it not because there is a total want of organization, because the means to regulate and direct it are not yet discovered?

We have seen that production is not perfected except by the improvement of methods; that it does not become important until men become sufficiently intelligent to unite and concentrate their forces for a definite end. The progress of agricultural production demands farms intelligently ordered and organized; manufacturing demands conceptions of mechanism and the architectural reform of the workshop and the manufactory. These conditions are indispensable to the true progress of labor.

By the invention of railroads, exchange and communication have become easy. By a proper system of keeping accounts the rights of each in equitable distribution will be established. The right use of wealth demands certain conditions, without which production and distribution, though founded upon principles of justice, cannot attain a grand human progress.

The use of wealth will not attain an end consonant with the Laws of Life except by creating the surroundings that insure the prosperity and happiness of all—by creating the conditions for the full development of the faculties of each.

But these conditions—what are they? Production has its condition; it is the manufactory. Its means of progress is industry; the construction and management of manufactories, farms, etc.

"But"—some will say—"the employment of wealth is a question pertaining to the individual. It is not susceptible of special organization."

This is an error.

The consumption of wealth, like production, to produce good results, exacts wisely considered combinations. Heretofore, domestic consumption has never been studied; it remains within the narrow circle of family interests, subject to restricted means, like the little workshop of former times.

It is to the wise organization of the workshop that the present progress in production is due.

It is to the wise organization of the *home* that the realization of happiness will be due, through the well-organized consumption of the products of labor.

Production is inconsiderable and incomplete while the workshop is in obscurity and isolated. The products are slight and of mediocre quality.

Consumption is abusive, badly distributed and badly economized, while the home is the result of the ignorance and the caprice of the individual. Misery and poverty take the place of the ease and comfort that might be attained by the wise organization of the home.

Science, then, must find the means to economize the fruits of labor and place the enjoyment of wealth within the reach of all. It must effect an architectural reform in the home as it has in the workshop and the factory ; as it has in education and culture, in exchange and intercommunication.

Social progress is one with the progress of labor, and the architectural reform of the home should be crowned by the *Social Palace*.

The state of society is indicated by the condition of the homes ; by their degree of perfection we can estimate the degree of comfort and ease that the people have attained and their progress in culture. We shall try to prove this in the following sections of this chapter, in order to demonstrate that *the true progressive home is the SOCIAL PALACE*.

II. HUTS AND CAVERNS.

In all phases of humanity the works of architecture spring up over the earth, marking the tendencies of the age. They are the most exact measure of the state of social progress, and the first sign of effort to secure comfort that the people manifest.

The primitive man has no dwelling, but only a shelter, scarcely equal in intelligence of construction to the nest of the bird and the burrow of the animal. During this period men are subject to the elements. Living in hordes, they construct only such defences as may keep off wild beasts during their sleep. Caverns or huts, holding a certain number, suffice for the first needs of man in his ignorance of anything better. They afford refuge and shelter for primitive people, living nearly or quite naked and feeding upon natural products—roots, fruits, game, and fish.

A narrow opening forms the entrance to these dens, which extend more or less under the ground and serve as places of refuge and rest for bands of savage hunters.

The bare rock, or the earth stayed by sticks, forms the walls and the vault of these wretched abodes. The entrance is defended against attacks of wild beasts during the night by stones or interlaced branches of trees.

To find a mound, a hill-side in which to dig a hole, a burrow, is the first instinctive industrial effort; and a fracture in a rock, whose entrance the primitive man can close with fragments of stone, affords him a shelter of which he is quite proud.

The natural grottos in the rock were godsend to our first ancestors. This was supreme comfort. Here their industry made its first progress. Finding in these natural dens a



FIG. 3.—Caverns of Bushmen (*South Africa*).

greater security, man began to develop a certain interest in labor.

The characteristic of the first dwelling structures of man was an imitation of the cavern.

A circular enclosure large enough to hold several persons, the smallest and lowest opening possible, and permitting entrance only on "all fours;" sometimes another hole on the top for ventilation, or for the smoke to escape from the fire built in the middle of the hut when the rigor of the weather demanded it—such were the miserable types of human habitations that our first instincts produced, and that we still see among the most wretched inhabitants of the earth.

As to the manner of building these huts, it varies according to the materials at hand. In the time of Herodotus the peo-

ple of Libya, living in the Atlas, made their dwellings of blocks of salt, because these were abundant there on the surface of the ground. No doubt the inhabitants found in these a good protection from the burning sun of their climate. They might easily cement these blocks, since a little water between them would dry in the sun and thus cause them to cohere perfectly.

The nomadic Libyans, on the contrary, constructed their portable huts out of asphodels interwoven with rushes; and Nearchus* informs us that the Ichthyophagi built their habitations of the bones of whales and other large fishes. From this we may infer that in primitive times, as in the present,



FIG. 4.—Fuegian Wigwam of Patagonia (*South America*).

man had recourse for building materials to whatever he could find, and that then, as now, it was not so much the materials which made the superiority of the dwelling, as the happy disposition of them according to the science of life at command.

In our days there are people still living in this primitive poverty in all the latitudes of the globe.

In the southern parts of America and Africa, a thousand leagues apart, the people live in nearly the same kind of huts, built of mud, branches of trees, or grasses.

The same instinct guides man from pole to pole. In the

* One of the captains of Alexander the Great. His work contains an account of a coasting voyage on the Indian Sea from the mouth of the Indus to Harmusia, now called Ormus. *Geographi Antiqui Minores*. Ed. Hudson. Oxford, 1698.

North the Esquimaux live a great part of the year in caves dug in the snow or built of blocks of snow heaped together. The floor, the walls, and the ceiling or vault all of snow. In these wretched dwellings the family lives, having nothing



FIG. 5.—Esquimaux Snow Huts (*North America*).

in the shape of fuel for fires, cooking their food with fish-oil, and living upon fish, the bear, and the reindeer.

In these latitudes the human race survives only by the greatest effort. Existence, being entirely absorbed by the physical wants, is closed to all progress by the exigencies of



FIG. 6.—Stone Hut in Easter Island (*Oceanica*).

food and clothing, the latter being made from the skins and the fur of animals. No accumulation of wealth is possible for these beings. Man, either by his ignorance or by the rigor of the climate, limits his activity to satisfying the wants of each day as it passes.

Near the poles man cannot devote his labor to building with a view to the future. The permanent struggle with the elements forms an obstacle too great for his forces.

In the torrid zones building has hardly made any greater progress, for opposite reasons. Once a shelter constructed, man, finding with little effort sufficient nourishment in the



FIG. 7.—Hut in the Canary Islands (*Atlantic Ocean*).

spontaneous products of the earth, remains indifferent to better conditions. We find, therefore, in the tropics, huts almost as primitive as those we have described, and a state of poverty as great.

Everywhere these habitations are but simple places to keep the children and to protect from outside attack.



FIG. 8.—Otaheitan Hut (*Oceanica*).

These two extremities of climate, then, are an obstacle to human progress: the one from the indolence in which the mildness of the weather and the abundance of natural products permit the people to live; the other from the extreme coldness of the climate, which demands all of man's forces to gain the barest necessities of life. It is only in the temperate

zones that man finds a climate sufficiently severe to stimulate him to industry, while it leaves him leisure for study and thought.

As soon as a man learns to make a cutting-tool, either in stone or metal, the hut of the trunks of trees, of laths, of dried grass, appears among all people where wood is abundant. A few stakes or poles stuck in the ground, and united at the top, offer the simplest roof to shelter the family or the horde.



FIG. 9.—Otaheitan Hut (*Oceanica*).

These huts are found among all the savage people of the earth; and the Gauls, our ancestors, certainly commenced by constructing them wherever forests supplied the means.

The true notion of a roof arose under the same conditions. It was only a different mode of planting the poles and uniting them above.



FIG. 10.—Hut in the Island of Sanna (*Australia*).

This construction exacted a slightly more skilful use of hands and cutting-instruments.

Certain tribes construct their huts by splicing their poles together and bending them in the form of a semicircle, and then planting both ends in the earth.

All these huts, as a general rule, are covered with straw, dry grass, or reeds bound to the latticing of the frail roofs.

The extreme uncomfortableness of these sad structures must stimulate their occupants to improve them, and each variation, if we study the motive, will testify to the effort of the human mind to ameliorate its surroundings in order to make some progress in life.

In the islands of Oceanica, and in the centres of continents where civilization has not penetrated, we find such structures as ancient Europe was once covered with. There the primitive habitation is found in all its forms. Some are constructed with the single object of shade during the excessive heat of the day; others to keep off venomous reptiles during sleep, or to cool the dwelling by isolating the air in it from the earth by a floor made of the trunks of trees.

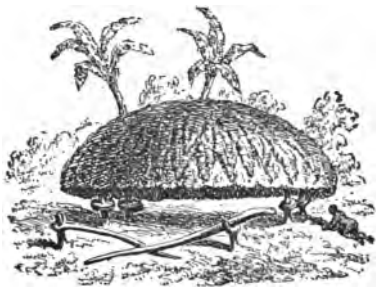


FIG. 11.—Hut of Louisiade (*South Pacific Ocean*).

The hut everywhere is to be considered as a den for rest. It is too imperfect to be regarded as affording the comforts that man needs. Imagine these smoky holes—divested of all furniture, of all dishes for food except one earthen pot, which serves to cook meat and roots without seasoning of any kind. Meat or fish more often is broiled without art before the fire, and these, with the wild fruits, form the whole nourishment of the horde.

The skins of animals served man for rude clothing many ages, until the art of weaving was invented; and these skins were not made use of except in cold and wet climates. In warm or hot climates, in all times, savages go nearly or quite naked.

Under such conditions, and in such dwellings, families and whole tribes exist. Holes dug in the earth in these huts contain the litter upon which the wretched beings sleep. In the

centre the fire is built, the smoke goes where it pleases, and the people must breathe such an atmosphere whenever the weather prevents building the fire outside.

People who see inevitable destruction of the human species in every change proposed in civilization should ask themselves how the race perpetuated itself under such conditions as those which we have just been considering. And yet, from these conditions we have risen to the industrial and social life of the present.

This subject is worthy the attention of philosophers, and especially of physiologists.

III. TENTS AND PORTABLE HUTS.

With those tribes who have learned to raise cattle and take care of flocks, the frequent moving from place to place renders the tent necessary. The fixed hut gives place to the portable one ; the materials must be made so that they can be folded



FIG. 12.—Ourassa of the Nomad Yakouts (*Siberia*).

and carried with the supports of the tent. Nomads use leather for their tents, or the leaves of certain trees, or bark, or coarse mats of straw, or rushes and reeds. The tents borrow their forms from the huts formerly used. The tent is still a very common habitation with many of the people in Asia. The Universal Exposition of 1867 contained a specimen of the nomad dwelling of the North covered with birch-bark.

The Tartar tent is made with more art; not only can the door be closed, but also the opening at the top, and it can be moved on a cart all in one piece.



FIG. 13.—Tartar Tent (*Asia*).

The tents of Central Asia resemble a roof set on the ground.

South America presents less skill in the construction of the tent; it is generally a most miserable affair, made by stretching skins over some posts.

When man becomes a shepherd, he has more time to devote to labor experiments, and he soon learns the art of spinning wool, of braiding grasses, rushes, and reeds, and many other arts which increase the comfort of his home.



FIG. 14.—Tent of the Eastern Altai (*Central Asia*).

The animal forces that pastoral tribes learn to turn to their service permit man to transport his resources, and to live in an easier manner than is possible to the hunting tribes; but

the habitation does not much increase the comfort of life until the means of existence become more stable. Until then man enjoys very little besides the natural resources. He may econ-



FIG. 15.—Tent of the Charruas Indians (*South America*).

omize them and make them more useful, but he adds very little by labor.

In these conditions, if consumption attains to abundance in certain cases, man is still deprived of the principal element of



FIG. 16.—Patagonian Tent (*South America*).

ease and comfort—a convenient habitation—and he suffers for the want of that which labor alone can create.

IV. COTS AND HOUSES.

As soon as man's experience is enriched by passing through these different stages of development, he turns his thoughts to the cultivation of the soil. Then the family becomes fixed, and the hut gives place to the cabin. It is made more strongly and with more building skill; but it makes very slow progress in variety of form, and even among people en-

joying a political organization we still find the primitive forms.

The idea of fixing upright posts in the ground for the sides of the hut marks a progress in the art of building. This was practised by the Germans and Gauls at the time of the in-



FIG. 17.—Habitation of Chili (*South America*).

vasion of the Romans. These posts were wound with fine rods tied with cords. This served to fix the thatch, or the mortar composed of straw and clay, with which the walls were covered.

These cabins are to-day almost exactly reproduced in Oceania, where the people are two thousand years behind the civilization of the present.



FIG. 18.—Habitation of the Ancient Germans.

Variations of this form of dwelling exist among various American Indians.

Among the warlike tribes and the anthropophagi we find the idea of the fortress around the habitation. The terror

that these populations cause their neighbors makes them understand the value of security; and so they surround their huts with palisades.



FIG. 19.—Cabin of New Caledonia (*Pacific Ocean*).

The condition as well as the character of people is thus seen in the construction of their habitations.

In places where circumstances lead to tranquillity and security, the habitation takes a form more durable and stable.



FIG. 20.—Indian House at St. Domingo (*Antilles*).

The attraction to labor leads to experiments and different ways of building. This we see among peaceful agricultural people.

As yet the cabin has no chimney. The fire is made in the centre of the single room of the hut, or against one of the

walls, and the smoke rises freely, escaping by the hole made in the extremity of the roof.

The rectangular form is conceived ; the walls are perpendicular, and though constructed in as elementary a fashion as



FIG. 21.—Cabin of New Caledonia (*Pacific Ocean*).

the preceding, the habitation is more appropriate to the germ of agricultural industry developing among the inhabitants.

The cultivation of the soil, united to the care of flocks and herds, develops a new form of dwelling more appropriate to the human species, but still it is very far from what it is destined to become, and as yet but slightly superior to that for the beasts.

In some countries the floor of the dwelling is elevated some-



FIG. 22.—Habitation of Otaheita (*Oceanica*).

what above the ground, in order to allow the air to circulate freely beneath, and to get out of the way of reptiles which may approach during sleep.

In none of these habitations is there a ceiling beneath the

roof ; and they are seldom lighted, except by the smoke-hole and the door. Rough stones serve to support the cooking-pot in the primitive fire-place.

The habitation is improving, nevertheless. It is in the form



FIG. 23.—Habitation of Vanikoro (*Oceania*).

of a parallelogram, and occasionally there appear little holes in the upper part of the wall for the light to enter and for ventilation. Gradually these cabins separate more and more, to give the inhabitants of each the chance to till the surrounding land. The borough thus begins to form, but the industrial phase develops slowly in these scattered habitations. Man



FIG. 24.—Habitation of the Mariana Islands (*Oceania*).

remains centred in a narrow individualism. He is cantoned within the circle of the meagre resources that he has created, and these he preserves as best he can. Isolation is the law to which men voluntarily condemn themselves by ignorance of

their destiny, even before tyranny divides them and reigns over them as slaves and serfs.

Under certain topographical influences—the fertility of the soil, the proximity of various materials, etc.—houses are built near each other through the desire for greater security, and thus the village is formed. Man feels the need of the society of his kind even while under the domination of the first wants of his nature. The first cause of the agglomeration of people is generally some advantage for supplying physical wants, as a brook or spring. Water is indispensable to life, and how much care and trouble the supplying of it causes in the country! Even at the present time some families are obliged to go over half a mile (*kilomètre*) for water, from the failing of wells or the absence of brooks or springs near the dwelling.

By the condition of the dwellings of the different people of the earth, we can understand the poverty and misery in which man lives in the first stages of his development. Even at present, in many places he is lodged in cabins constructed by posts planted in the ground and covered with mud, while the roof is protected by thatch.

In early times the working of metals was unknown, and tools were scarce and difficult to obtain. All, or nearly all, the wood-work was done with flint hatchets. How difficult, with such an instrument, to cut down a tree, to make a board!

For long ages miserable huts were the only habitations of the people—and this, not more from the difficulties man encountered in the way of labor before he had learned the resources of industry, than from the obstacles that he placed in his own way through ignorance of the Laws of Life.

V. HOUSES OF SERFS.

From the point where we have just been regarding the human dwelling, we see that it is become the social cell about which cluster the interests that impel man to labor incessantly for the necessities of life. The material life being thus satisfied, man would go on day by day improving his condition, but for the advent of the spirit of war, which prevents the healthful development of the people.

The thirst of pleasure, with certain men, surpassing the measure of the prosperity they are able to create for themselves, they become inspired with the wicked idea of conquest; and propagating the same spirit in others about them,

they organize war against their neighbors and rob them of the fruit of their labor. Thievery and robbery, assuming considerable proportions, are glorified under the name of the art of war, and the people are divided into conquerors and conquered, oppressors and oppressed, tyrants and slaves.

The slavery of one class serves to create the riches of others, and all the laws of nature and all notions of justice are perverted among men. The laborious and productive life is thus disturbed at the outset, and the wealth produced by labor is turned from its natural course.

We must not take the grandeur of the monuments of antiquity which are preserved to the present day as a measure of the prosperity of the people who built them. These constructions are in fact the result of a pitiless tyranny exercised over the oppressed people. The monuments of conquerors are the spoils of the conquered; and in all times the misery of the masses, and the sadness of the laborer's life, have been proportionate to the luxury with which the rulers are surrounded; it is the labor of the people that pays for the splendors of princes.

It would be a grave mistake to conclude from the magnificence of certain eras of antiquity that the condition of the people was raised to this height. Rome, for example, enriched by the spoils of a hundred nations, testifies, in the pomp and grandeur of her monuments and her buildings, the wretchedness of the people who were forced, by their ransoms and their slavery, to erect these witnesses of their servitude; while of the miserable habitations of the laborers there is no vestige remaining.

The splendor of the remains of antique civilization shows no signs of the general welfare of the population. What remains, on the contrary, proves that all the wealth created by labor, instead of being applied to the improvement of the conditions of the laborer, instead of being a means to aid him to rise to new progress in the way of useful discoveries, instead of being distributed over the entire society, we find it everywhere monopolized by a small number living in the midst of idleness and luxury, true blood-suckers of the social body absorbing all the savings of labor through imports, taxes, statute-labor, and slavery—and this to gratify the unbridled passion for luxury which has always characterized the oppressors of the people.

While the great masses of the people were reduced to servitude, naked, or partially covered with skins, and sheltered by wretched hovels, temples and splendid palaces arose in

privileged places, under the patronage of tyrants, princes, and priests, only to serve the still further subjugation of the people.

It is true that in the shadow of this pomp art germinated, and from the enormous sufferings of generations there remain for our study the ruins of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome ; but is it in such monuments that human labor would have culminated if a wiser humanity had understood its law ?

No ; and the ruin of all this past of humanity had not been, if man had not been bewildered by the worst direction—that most contrary to the Progress of Life.

VI. THE FEUDAL CASTLE

While mankind is a constant prey to the vicissitudes of war, he can do little more than seek from day to day the necessities of existence. There is nothing to stimulate him to provide for the future ; for the fear of destruction is ever before him, and the study of attack and defence exhausts the resources of his intellect. Such a state of instability could not exist except where the people were extremely poor, which was the case in the social and political chaos of the old civilizations. There were no well-established notions of justice, and labor was completely sacrificed. The conquerors of the people sought out some favored spot on their estates where they brought the wealth they had robbed from conquered nations, and the feudal castle, destined to maintain the people in slavery, was the result. Of all the monuments conceived by the caprice of princes, and by the tyrants of the people to attest their vain glory, the feudal castle is the most sad example that the past has bequeathed us.

A veritable den of spoliation and rapine, the feudal castle, considered from an architectural point of view, is the farthest possible remove from what a building for social life should be.

Built with a view to maintain the domination of the conqueror, and the servitude of the conquered people, it is an expression of all the instincts of human covetousness allied to tyranny. In these accursed habitations were engulfed all the products of labor ; here all the resources of the people were accumulated to gratify the chief and his favorites. As to those who for him watered the earth with their sweat and their blood, taxed and oppressed without mercy, they had



FIG. 25.—The Feudal Castle.

nothing to look forward to but misery, added to the exactions of the lord and his military followers. No right either of the individual or of the family was respected, and the vassal and the cattle were treated with equal consideration.

Once the feudal castle was built, all improvement in the habitations of the dependent population was impossible. They could hope for nothing but the miserable thatched hovel, and the progress of the people was utterly impeded. All the comforts and luxuries were concentrated in the castle, and the fate of the peasant, ruined by the exactions of the seigniors and forced to fight the incessant wars that these made among themselves, can hardly be conceived.

The isolation of the habitations of the vassals facilitated their utter subjugation; for it was impossible for them to unite to resist the tyrannies of their oppressors. Abandoned to their single forces, they were without any protection against the most frightful oppression.

It is the fate of man in isolation to be the instrument of the despot and at the mercy of his will.

VII. THE CITIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Isolation makes men weak. In union there is strength. In the Middle Ages it was only in the cities that the populations could make the slightest pretence of liberty. Cut off by their streets, so narrow that they were scarcely better than alleys, the people from their upper floors could hurl destruction down on the heads of their invaders, and for this reason they could make some opposition to the exactions that desolated and ruined the country places.

The tax-gatherers were unwilling to risk themselves in these dangerous passes; resistance began to organize, and hence the people in cities acquired a little liberty. It has always been in association that men have found their best protection.

It was not, however, without disadvantages that the people concentrated thus in cities; for, when the laws of health are little understood, there is great danger from accumulating garbage, bad drainage, and the general indifference of families on the subject of cleanliness. The human habitation is subject to hygienic laws which cannot be disobeyed with impunity.

In the country the houses are placed at a distance from

each other, with plenty of air and space, and therefore the carelessness of the people is less dangerous to health. The manure-heaps and the garbage about the dwelling, interior uncleanness even, cannot produce the deleterious effects that they do where the population is more concentrated.

The cities of the Middle Ages offer sad examples of the effect upon the public health of unorganized agglomerations of human beings. The narrow, crooked streets were miry receptacles of the industrial detritus, slops, and all the garbage that anyone chose to deposit. They were without pavements and without gutters, and veritable nests of infection.

The deleterious emanations of so much accumulated filth gave rise to plagues and frightful epidemics, and all kinds of strange and cruel maladies. Such, for example, as leprosy, covering man with hideous ulcers and rendering him an object of horror to his kind; another was the *mal des ardents*, which in a day, a night, consumed the body or parts of the body as if by fire, so that the flesh fell off in pieces; another was elephantiasis—the perturbations caused in the animal economy were so great that the legs of the patient swelled until they resembled those of the elephant. With all these, plagues were common, and so decimated the populations, at times, that there were not enough of the living left to bury the dead.

VIII. FREE CITIES AND VILLAGES.

As liberty grew among the people the streets of the cities widened and were paved, industry developed, and the inhabitants of the country found the security necessary to cultivate their fields and repair the roofs of their cabins. Still it is the habitation of primitive poverty, with the bare ground for the floor, four mud or wooden walls, and a roof of thatch—the shelter of the family and the cattle at the same time, for they generally lived together.

A wall of earth separated the cattle's apartment from that of the family, but they communicated by a door, and the stable was the sleeping-place for both. Beside the cabin was the barn for the hay and grain, and piles of stable manure were heaped before the door. The rain from the roof kept the entrance to the house muddy and filthy, and dirty waters stagnated in a neighboring ditch. No matter—the only

thing to be thought of was how to make bread enough to eat.

Finally, liberty rose from the ashes of despotism. Labor,



FIG. 26.—Cabins of the Serfs in the Middle Ages.

in the country and in the city, found in morals and in the protection of the law some little security in its development.



FIG. 27.—Village Houses.

The house gradually became more suited to human life. A chimney was constructed, a kind of garret added, and win-

dows on hinges, in place of the bundles of straw which stopped the window-holes when the weather made it necessary. A cellar is excavated, which serves to keep the vegetables and the beverages. The idea of comfort in the dwelling makes sensible progress.

Industry develops as the people grow more confident of their security. Labor gradually raises the people from their degradation, and slowly creates the means for a more human civilization.

To labor society owes everything. Labor opens the way, by its discoveries, by the wealth it creates, to higher conditions in life for the classes once enslaved. Labor and enterprise gradually destroy the traces of hostility among men. The feudal castle, with its towers and battlements, falls to ruins; the building of moats, and fortifications, and city walls and ramparts, must give way before the peaceful army of laborers who toil for the emancipation of mankind and the prosperity of all. But we have already said a new progress is to be realized; poverty is to be destroyed by attacking it at its source. We must replace these miserable dwellings, fruits of long ages of ignorance and servitude, by the true social home. Architecture must do for social progress what the railroad has done for circulation.

IX. THE PROGRESS OF DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.

While men are wanting inspirations of true justice and liberty, the fruits of labor are turned from their true course. The dwellings of the people are the reflection of the disorder of individual and social interests.

No bond of interest unites different families. Their houses are isolated, placed without order or regularity, badly constructed, low, unhealthy, coarse, and cheap. Nothing in the world to-day so clearly expresses the ignorance, the carelessness, the want of all progress, as the dwellings of the people. Many of those in the country at the present time are little better than were those of the ancient Gauls, our ancestors.

The village, with its walls of plaster or rough stones, its roofs of thatch, its muddy streets, its garbage heaps and pools, is a picture of confusion—a blot upon the fair earth.

When the moral sense and the intelligence of the people are sufficiently developed to direct measures of public inter-

est, the isolation of dwellings not only becomes useless but hurtful to society ; it constitutes the greatest obstacle to the progress of enlightenment and the organization of prosperity. How slow, then, must be the first steps toward progress among the scattered populations of the country, along the muddy or impassable streets or roads, as were formerly nearly all the villages of France.

The influence upon sociability of bringing the dwellings nearer each other is a characteristic fact, clearly seen by comparing the condition of the city with that of the country. In

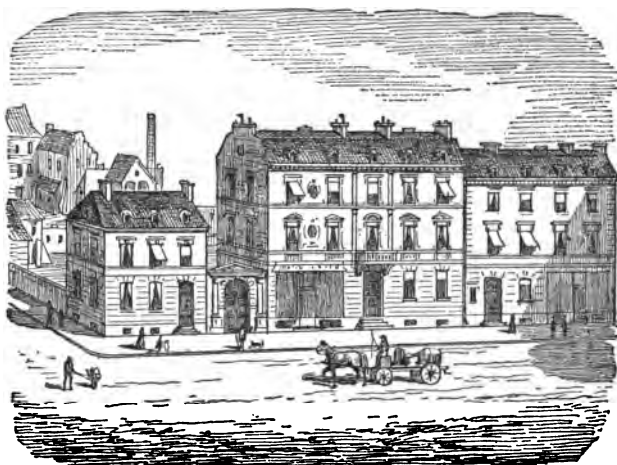


FIG. 28.—City Houses.

condensed populations, where the home conveniences are greater, the intellect and the desire for progress develops, so powerful is the effect of bringing people into closer relations, even when they do not understand the destiny of labor nor the possibilities of human progress. Under the influence of this closer relationship the houses take a new and better form, although incoherence and confusion are still reflected in their construction. The materials are of better quality, the stories are higher ; and, despite the helter-skelter of high and low houses, houses of all styles, courts and narrow streets, blind alleys and repulsive quarters, yet, in places, the broad, straight streets, the fine houses, palaces, gardens, and public edifices

indicate man's tendency toward perfection in the art of building.

And yet, though the dwellings in cities mark a decided progress in the art of building, we can easily conceive great improvements. There is an absence of unity of design in their structure, absence of unity in the proprietorship of the houses, and often on the floors of the same house. If this multiplicity of interests which goes to build city houses was united as a joint-stock association, the plan of building the houses and streets would be very different when a new quarter was to be laid out and built up. There would be no more of those narrow staircases, with entrances to different apartments huddled together on the same landing; no more of those narrow and dark passages and inconvenient kitchens, or water-closets with impossible drains. The question would not be to realize in a given space the more or less happy plans of a proprietor, but to realize the dwelling under the best auspices of science, which exacts air, light, and necessary space everywhere. This is the point that has been essentially wanting in the recent rebuilding of new quarters in cities. A few grand buildings founded by societies, which express a broad architectural conception, may be excepted; but what has been done for these structures might be done for entire streets; and it is only thus that unity can be expressed in city dwellings, instead of that incoherence which we see even in the finest quarters. But we are less interested here in city dwellings than in those to be erected for the general welfare, and especially for the benefit of the working-classes.

By this brief examination of the dwellings of different people we have sought to show that the amount of comfort that mankind can enjoy is proportionate to the advantages and the resources with which the habitation is surrounded. This is so true that the chateau and the palace, perfected, is the ideal of those who would taste the comforts and refinements of life.

The home to respond to the aspirations of human life should be a place of liberty, peace, and quiet; it should be surrounded with everything convenient and agreeable, and above all it should bring people together and unite them in the same general interests.

It is clearly proved that harmony with the Laws of Life is impossible to attain by man in isolation. He makes real progress only when, united with his fellow-man, he concentrates his energy and his labor.

We should not be dazzled by a few palaces, a few beautiful streets in cities; on the contrary, they should only show by

comparison how those who have tried to improve the habitations of the people have failed in the breadth of conception necessary to such reforms. Routine and tradition have guided in every instance.

X. WORKING-MEN'S HOUSES.

Struck with the miserable condition of the homes of laborers, certain men, with laudable motives, have turned their attention to improving these in the cheapest possible way, and they have evolved the little house and the little garden. They are right, certainly, in the eyes of a great number ; for a little house and garden is the ambition of him who has nothing. But is it well to flatter the unthinking desires of ignorance? No ; the social question demands the truth.

In the modern progress of science and industry we must study the resources of architecture, and work out the problem of the home for man best adapted to his comfort and to the improvement of his condition.

Has not the experiment in little houses and little gardens been made from the beginning of the world? Was it not this ambition that made the poor build their houses on the commons belonging to village corporations, where the municipal administration was less strict? Here each one took his plot of ground, and his neighbors gratuitously helped him to put up his house. There was no purchase of land to be made, and no rent to pay. It was in this way that hamlets were formed.

Nothing but poverty is the result. These houses are always a spectacle of privations, of profound ignorance, and of a style of living very different from the family ideal described by certain writers, no doubt with good intentions ; but while they captivate the vulgar because they flatter prejudice and habit, their ideas are none the less divested of reason and truth.

The extollers of little houses for the people do not see that in going a step lower we find the hut of the savage ; but as the condition of the savage is impossible in our civilization, hideous poverty takes its place. In the country the beggar in rags has a roof to shelter him and a garden.

The merit, then, of little houses and little gardens does not exist except in the books of those who have taken but a very superficial view of the subject. The little cottage may attract the Parisian, who, having passed the six days of the week in

an office, or with his family in apartments at the rear of a shop, is very glad to breathe the fresh air of the country on Sunday ; but from the wants created by such circumstances we cannot expect the right inspiration for architectural reform.

We have already treated this subject in Chapter Tenth, *Waifs of Social Ideas*, and we saw that the village of Grand Hornu and the *corons* of the north cannot serve as a basis for the habitation which is to supply the conditions necessary to social life.

Though affording the necessary elements for the most pressing needs of the laboring population, these dwellings are

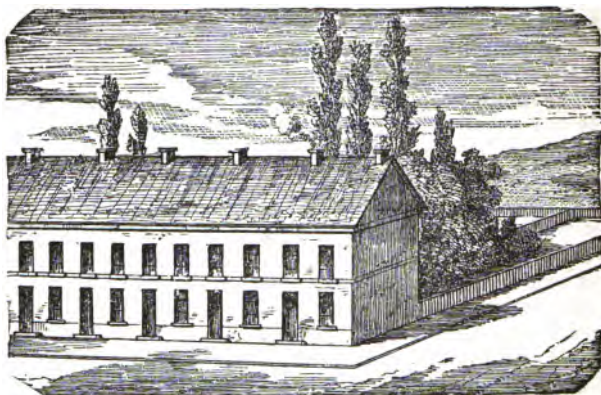


FIG. 29.—Working-men's Houses of Grand Hornu, and the *Corons* of the North.

unsusceptible of the successive ameliorations that the workman's condition demands. They develop in a feeble way the habits of the city instead of those of the country, but do not afford right conditions of comfort and sociability among the laborers.

The construction of these working-men's houses tends more and more to the village style, because in the absence of means to give the laborer a sum of enjoyments unknown to him at present, he demands independence as the thing most desirable. Thus, after deciding to construct the houses in a line, like those represented in the preceding figure, the Anzin

Company gave preference to the following models, which are semi-detached cottages having an outlook before and behind.

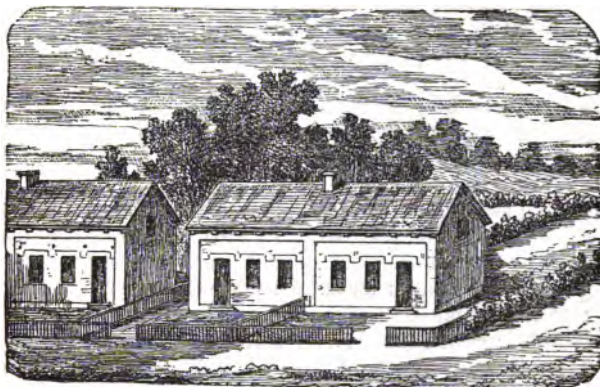


FIG. 30.—Working-men's Houses built by the Company of Anzin.

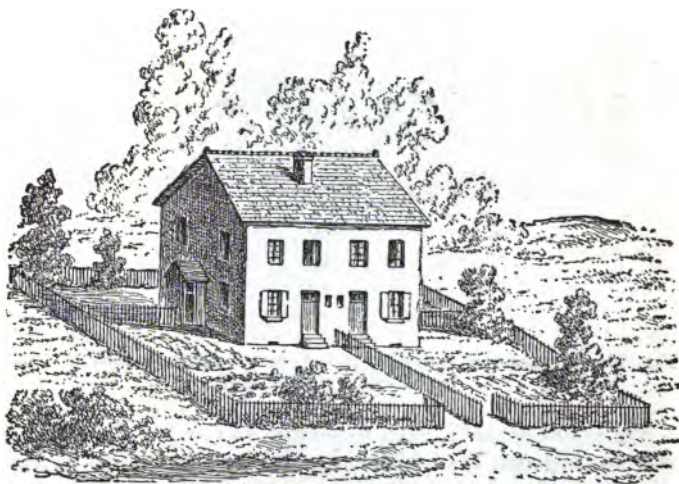


FIG. 31.—Working-men's Houses at Mulhouse.

These are less disturbed by police street-regulations. The inhabitant, having a garden in front and in the rear, is less

subject to the reprimands of the village police, and to the complaints of his neighbors, for encroachments upon the street or sidewalk.

But this isolation scatters the population more, and schools and all institutions of public utility are removed farther from the majority of the people. It is nothing but the village over again.

We have seen how at Mulhouse, at Colmar, and in other industrial centres, varieties of cottages for workmen have been built, such as have long existed in Belgium, England, and the north of France.

We have seen the motives that presented these houses for some time as a social panacea. In 1867 these received honors in the Universal Exposition. The thing to do, of course, was to cry up little houses as soon as the Emperor entered the lists; so the organizers of the tournament would receive no contestants except those armed with little houses. The Emperor must take the first prize. *The Familistère of Guise could not get admitted to the Exposition—neither a model, a plan, nor an engraving of it.* But with a motive easy to understand they admitted such complete edifices as this :



FIG. 32.—Houses for Agricultural Laborers. Antwerp models. Universal Exposition of 1867.

We might consider such dwellings as these if the question was to improve the hut of the Hottentot; but to present them as models to be imitated, in view of bettering the condition of the working-men of Europe, is simply to show an extraordinary ignorance of the subject.

All these little houses contain nothing new; they include nothing which is not common to any cottage, or at least to

most village houses. Sold or rented on such conditions as they are, they have no influence upon the morals, the ease, or the welfare of the people. The laborer's life there is just as it is in all manufacturing centres. When the idea of these little houses has been united with useful public institutions the effect has been good. When such institutions have been wanting, the cottages have changed nothing in the life of the workman. We need not, therefore, dwell any longer upon the subject, except to show that domestic economy is a science of the future, and that up to this time words and phrases have held its place.

Is it not true that, whenever the question of working-men's homes has arisen, the one remedy presented has always been cheap rents as the only rational and practical suggestion?



FIG. 33.—Danish House, Universal Exposition of 1867.

And yet it is by the practice of this suggestion that the wretchedness of the working-classes is perpetuated. What is your cheap lodging, in fact, but the tumble-down old house, or the modern contract cottage, where greedy speculation has sought to house the workmen's families in the cheapest way possible? Nothing that might add to the charms of life is dreamed of in building these lodgings.

Let those who wish to see the value of the cheap idea in the laborer's dwelling go and study these edifices of speculation in France, England, or elsewhere. They will see that "cheap" means, in this connection, the negation of all sentiment of generosity—everything, in fact, but a sordid self-interest. But we need not trouble ourselves to make a journey in order to learn this fact. Have we not everywhere about

us cheap lodgings for workmen? Is it not this lodging which is the theatre of so many miseries and sufferings?

What can be cheaper than the miserable old houses of every complexion wherever the poor live? What can equal the thatch and the old shanties of the poor villager, and the cellars and the garrets of the poor quarters in cities?

Let your cheap lodgings be made to shelter cattle; it is time to stop inventing them for men. There are enough already to perpetuate the wretched habits of poverty. Let us try to reform these surroundings that corrupt the minds and the bodies of the masses, and we shall have made a grand step toward raising man from his degradation.

That relative poverty may be one of the necessities of human society may be true. Nature proceeds by differences in all things; but that squalor should eternally exist is one of the accepted errors that our age should correct.

In order to solve the problem of the wise employment of wealth, it is not sufficient to augment the already too large number of dwellings which condemn man to the exclusive possession of the shelter where his family are sordidly crowded together; it is not sufficient to make toy houses for the workman, composed of two or three rooms, a garret, a cellar, and a toy garden. No; this belongs to the past of humanity. Such a lodging scarcely answers the mere offices of eating and sleeping, and being insufficient for the wants of the body, still more is it inadequate for the wants of the heart and the intelligence.

It is true that the laborer is often deprived of the strictly necessary in point of dwelling, and that the working-men's houses have at least the merit of affording the indispensable; but is this the end of architectural progress in homes for the people? Cannot the capital invested in this way develop something which will be to the little cottages of laborers what the grand manufactory is to the little isolated workshop?

This is the problem: The comforts of life, accessible to all in conformity to the Laws of Life; the organization upon a vast scale of all the conveniences, all the comforts, all the healthful delights and pleasures of the family; the establishment of all the institutions for the care of the body, for intellectual and moral progress; the habitation, in fact, having in close proximity all that is necessary for the Preservation, the Progress, and the Harmony of Life.

Material progress gives to man the elements of his advancement in life. Each step in social progress exacts its special surroundings. The progress accomplished by industry to-

day demands that man should rise to the understanding of the wise employment of wealth, without which he fails to accomplish his mission on the earth.

The wise employment of wealth exacts its special conditions. It exacts the invention of a new domestic organization, the architectural conception of the unitary home, giving to all the comforts and conveniences of life.

It is not the cheap home that we want for the workman, but the home of true domestic economy. It is the *Social Palace* that we should dedicate to labor, if we would raise the laboring-classes to that degree of dignity and comfort to which they aspire, and employ the wealth created by labor conformably to the Primordial Laws of the Preservation, the Progress, and the Harmony of Human Life.

CHAPTER XIX.

SOCIAL ARCHITECTURE.

I. INFLUENCE OF MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS.

It is a fact too little known that moral order is intimately allied to the material organization. As long as institutions are wanting to put men in the practical way of realizing the good, all efforts to secure moral order will fail.

During many centuries religious teaching and a false and uncertain philosophy have been creating a thousand prejudices against gratifying the material wants of mankind, seeking to detach the mass of the people from terrestrial things, to the great profit of their oppressors or to the interested propagators of these doctrines.

Under the influence of such prejudices certain readers may still doubt the practical value of the propositions I am about to set forth as indicating the way to obey the living laws to which man is subject. As for us, instead of preaching to men the contempt of the comforts of this world, we shall teach them that their first duty is to seek to realize them completely and for the benefit of all.

We have shown that humanity is predestined to progress from Matter to Life. It will not accomplish its mission until it has established institutions for the Preservation, Development, and Harmony of Human Life. Man acts upon matter through his organism, and his power over it is commensurate with his health and the perfection of his being.

The perfection of the body, and health, its consequence, cannot be obtained except by placing man under conditions in harmony with the demands of his nature. When man suffers physically, the functions of the moral and intellectual nature suffer also. Health cannot exist without comfort, and comfort is only to be realized in a fit and convenient habitation.

Let us remember that physical needs are of two kinds, external and internal. The first exacts comfort, the second

food. Deprived of one or the other of these indispensable elements of life, man loses his state of equilibrium, his life-power is lessened, and he is incapable of the full exercise of his faculties. Then, instead of developing intellectually and morally, his mind is circumscribed with preoccupations for preserving the physical life. Man must triumph over matter to assure the full exercise of the mind. The conquest of material comfort is the surest guarantee to moral liberty.

The natural conclusion of the preceding is that architectural combinations are necessary for the satisfaction of external wants, and the perfected habitation indispensable to the satisfaction of internal wants. The warmest and best-made clothing is insufficient if man has no shelter, and culinary preparations are imperfect without the conveniences of the habitation.

The home is therefore placed in the first rank of the conditions necessary to the preservation and progress of human life; and it is more perfect and more in harmony with the ends of Life as it surrounds mankind, and without confusion, with everything that permits the various manifestations of human existence. The home is of no value except as it augments the pleasures of man by its arrangements, and as it is adapted to facilitate the development of institutions for the progress of the species.

The habitation is variable in its construction; but it is, above all, by the union that homes form among themselves that they influence the social state and the condition of the laborer.

As the hut answers to the wants of the savage life, the tent to the pastoral, the isolated house to the agricultural and artisan life, so the unitary habitation responds to the wants of the age of great industries, great agricultural and manufacturing interests.

Architectural conceptions correspond to the social evolutions of the people. To religions—reunions of the believing—the church and the temple are necessary; to the care and training of infancy, the *crèche*, the *salle de garde*,* and the asylum; to education, schools, colleges, etc.; to labor, workshops and factories. All that man does must have material conditions for its execution, and the results are proportioned to these conditions.

The architecture of the home, hereafter, should be an expression of union among men, as it has heretofore expressed

* The nursery, the kindergarten.

the division which has reigned among them. When the home shall be conceived upon a plan for uniting all that is necessary for the progress of life, the effect upon man will be fully commensurate.

We say, further, that the true social state cannot be inaugurated except through a grand architectural conception adapted to provide for every one access to all the advantages of social life.

True social institutions are those which bear good fruits, which are durably established and self-supporting. Those which do not meet these conditions are ephemeral and inconsistent. Until this truth is recognized principles will remain without application, the best theories without effect, and the most generous aspirations without durable influence upon the fate of the people.

II. CONDITIONS OF WELL-BEING.

What, then, is to be the architecture of the home? What its style, its form, its arrangement? Such is the problem whose solution concerns the equitable distribution of the products of labor, and the world to day is ready for the question. There is truth in the old saying, "A problem well put is half-solved." To secure the well-being of the poor, the working-class, is the wish of all philanthropists; but very few of them have commenced by finding out in what that well-being consists. They have generally limited themselves to the enunciation of theories which, being based on no law, have only served to render the problem still more obscure.

The science of prosperity does not rest on vagaries of the imagination, but upon the knowledge of the true wants of Human Life. To laud interested, preconceived plans cannot make truths of them. The foundations of human nature are immutably fixed; well-being has its necessary conditions which the home must satisfy.

The laws of well-being are inherent in the nature of man, and there is no need of evolving occult theories to determine what they are. Indeed it is surprising that they should be so misunderstood in theory when they are so well known in practice.

We have only to examine how human beings seek the comforts of life, and how they use them, to have a just idea. The facts are patent to all. By the side of privations which touch the very necessities for preserving life, by the side of indigence

which robs life of all that renders it agreeable, do we not see wealth rolling in luxury? We have only to enumerate the things that the rich family bends all its efforts to attain, to learn that it is in material advantages that are found the satisfactions without which happiness would be wanting.

The rich enjoy food that is healthy and abundant.

Their clothes are fine, clean, and well made. Their houses are commodious and agreeable, and neatness reigns throughout.

Their living-rooms are not used for any disagreeable domestic work.

The cares of the family are rendered easy by people whose business it is to attend to these duties.

They have special rooms devoted to the cares of infancy.

They have other special rooms devoted to household functions.

They have places of amusement.

They have gardens and promenades around the house, constituting its exterior charms.

Such are the principal elements which make up the well-being of life. Poverty in its isolation cannot attain comforts like these.

No one will deny that the pleasures of the rich are greater than those of the poor; no one will deny that riches are worthless except for the pleasures they procure.

Suppose the family of the millionaire deprived of sufficient and proper food.

Suppose the members despoiled of their rich clothing and covered with rags instead.

Suppose their mansion converted into a shanty.

Suppose in this shanty the principal habitable room had to serve for kitchen, wash-house, and bed-chamber for father, mother, and children.

Suppose the care of the young children devolved night and day upon the father and the mother.

Under such conditions what happiness would remain to the possessor of millions? Indeed, we need not suppose so many restrictions in order to deprive life of all its charms. If this family continued to enjoy a satisfactory nourishment and the accustomed clothing, but yet was obliged to live in a dwelling like the one we have described, would not existence be a torture almost as great?

The habitation, and its proper management, is essential to happiness. Its condition marks the degree of social culture which the human being has attained.

The wild animals have the great trees or burrows to shelter them, and for beds the grass or the cold earth; but already for domestic animals we build sheds and barns and stables.

The habitation of man should not be on a plane with that of the beasts; for the being who is the manifestation of intelligence upon the earth, the habitation should be the palace. This truth is engrained in man, and all who have wealth aspire to it; a habitation in which are united all the resources of life is always the crown of wealth.

And yet how many have lauded, and still laud, the isolation of the laborer as a means of preserving in morals the forms of an impossible ideal!—a vagary of the imagination. A little house, a little garden! This is all that most philanthropists have hoped for the family of the laborer.

A roof is not the only thing necessary to secure the well-being of the masses. The children are to be thought of—poor, unhappy little beings, born to privation and misery! They have a right to be warmly housed from their entrance into the world; to be well dressed, well tended, and their surroundings kept constantly clean. A constant vigilance should attend their first steps, preserving them from accident, responding to their questions, creating amusements for them which instruct while they delight, and occupations adapted to the desire for movement which actuates them unceasingly.

Ah! how grave a mistake it is to leave the care and training of the child—the most sacred, the most difficult, and the most delicate of functions—to the parents, who need all their time for labor. What blindness to suppose that the child should depend wholly upon its parents when these can only obtain the wages they live by, except through constant toil, which obliges them to neglect the care due to the child!

Do we not see that the rich, whose daily bread is already gained, have nurses for their children, preceptors to instruct them; and is not this an excellent thing for the tranquillity of the fathers, the mothers, and the children? Let us not reason against facts, but rather profit from the lessons of experience. The miseries and hardships of families abandoned to their own resources are too patent from the beginning of the world for us to be still found harping upon the beauties of isolation and the merits of any domestic architecture conceived up to this time.

III. THE EQUIVALENTS OF WEALTH.

We have seen what are the real conditions of the habitation in which the rich find satisfaction. We have seen that these conditions comprise the union of all that is necessary for the wants of life. Our conclusion must be that the amelioration of the working-classes cannot be real until they are in possession of *the equivalent of wealth*, or, in other words, advantages analogous to those that wealth secures. Armed with this compass we can be sure of an unerring guide as to what is to be done.

To place the family of the poor in convenient homes.

To surround these homes with all the resources and all the advantages with which the home of the rich is provided.

To make the home a place of rest, pleasure, and repose.

To substitute by organization the services that the rich receive through their servants.

This is the object to be attained, if we would not have the families of workmen perpetually excluded from the wealth they create, to which all human creatures have a right, and which it is the destiny of our age to realize for all.

The institutions adapted to attain this end indicate themselves when we examine the conditions of the existence of the poor.

The lodging is unhealthy and dirty, because, instead of being devoted to the rest and the quiet necessary to happiness, it serves as a kitchen and a laundry. The scarcity of linen in the family makes washing every day a necessity. Miasma rising from the dirty waters with which the linen and then the floors are washed, vitiates the atmosphere, to the great detriment of little children, while it enervates the laborer and combines with the other discomforts of his life to make his hopeless poverty more and more irksome.

The rich have wash-houses, which remove from the domestic hearth these causes of unhealthfulness, of dirt and disgust. The poor, then, should have their wash-house, as the rich have, that is, adjoining the dwelling.

The young children of the poor are necessarily neglected. They have not a sufficiency of linen, are not kept clean, are not carefully tended, are lonely, and neglected by the mother who has to attend to her work. The rich obviate all this by nurses and domestics. The poor, then, should have a nursery in their own house—that is, the *crèche* under the same roof.

We have shown that the baby in the cradle suffers in the

house of the poor; the child that can walk is no better off left to himself, half-naked or ragged, he rolls in the gutter, for which he is often ill-treated, whipped, or scolded. He has no instruction, no intelligent care prevents him from forming bad habits by directing him in the right way. The child of the poor is abandoned to himself when he is not under the violent treatment of his parents, or his brothers and sisters.

The child of the rich, as soon as he can walk, is kindly tended by persons assuming this function, under the eyes of the mother. He has toys at his disposal, and amusements are so managed for him as to give him pleasant instruction. The poor, then, must have their halls near the home, where the child can receive its first lessons with attentive and intelligent care. In developing his physical powers by attractive exercises he is prepared for intelligent culture. This is the kindergarten, well understood, perfected; and it must be within reach of all.

How can the child of the poor be educated when he can go to school only from the age of five to twelve? What good do the lessons of the teacher do him under such imperfect conditions? When he is old enough to be put to work he forgets the little he has learned, or can make no use of it. In scattered villages how many causes hinder the child from profiting by the lessons of the school, even when there is one? How many motives intervene to justify the apparent indifference of parents? Is it not too bad to send out the poor children alone for such a journey, over bad roads, in the rain, the cold, or the snow? And when the day is fine, how many motives cause the child to loiter on the way, or play truant to escape the lessons of the master!

For many reasons education has countless drawbacks in the country; and if it has less in cities it is because the school is easier of access. The poor, then, must have their school near to the home.

It is thus with all things serving moral and intellectual development. Of what use, for example, are *crèches* in villages, where these useful and beneficent institutions are at such a distance as to render them practically unavailable to the greater part of the families, because of the loss of time in carrying the children to and fro?

All measures yet attempted to favor the development of the human species make but slow and difficult progress in the heart of the country, and it is useless to think of them without radical modifications in the domestic organization and economy of the people.

For the perfect management of the interior affairs of a home, a fund of knowledge is necessary such as no single family possesses. Salubrity, hygiene, cleanliness, and all the intelligent domestic care which attend wealth, cannot be secured to the masses without the organization of domestic relations which will concentrate all the functions and bring the aid of scientific knowledge to the direction of the indispensable institutions for the welfare of all.

To secure to the poor the equivalents of wealth, it is not only necessary to ameliorate one special phase of family life by a partial association—it is necessary to ameliorate the entire surroundings of the family of the workman, uniting in his home, and around it, all the comforts and charms which preserve and perfect the being, and fit it for the accomplishment of its mission in life.

To save the families of workmen from the evils which pursue them in isolation, we must raise them to the conception of a superior home. Families must unite and co-operate, and secure for the benefit of all such advantages as they could never hope for in isolation; for though the single chateau affords for certain favorites of fortune, and at enormous expense, the necessary resources of the family, all cannot hope for the same resources by the same means; for each workman cannot have a chateau all to himself. We must create the grand palace, where each family and each individual may find these resources and advantages united for the good of all.

But how shall we give to every workman the advantages which the fortunate rich possess? It is only possible by opening to capital new avenues to usefulness; for though all laborers cannot become millionaires, it is possible to find a new and profitable way for the investment of capital, and greatly to the benefit of the race. *This new field of activity for capital and labor is the reform of the habitation.*

In the first half of this century capital and labor created the great industries and revolutionized our methods of transportation. They created vast manufactories, steamships, and railroads. The work to be done now is to effect a grand reform in the architecture of the home.

We have seen that no amelioration is possible among laborers abandoned to their own unaided efforts. In the condition of the laborer's home, comfort and ease cannot be attained. Poverty is the essential accompaniment of his environment. Capital can do nothing for him there—that is the function of charity!

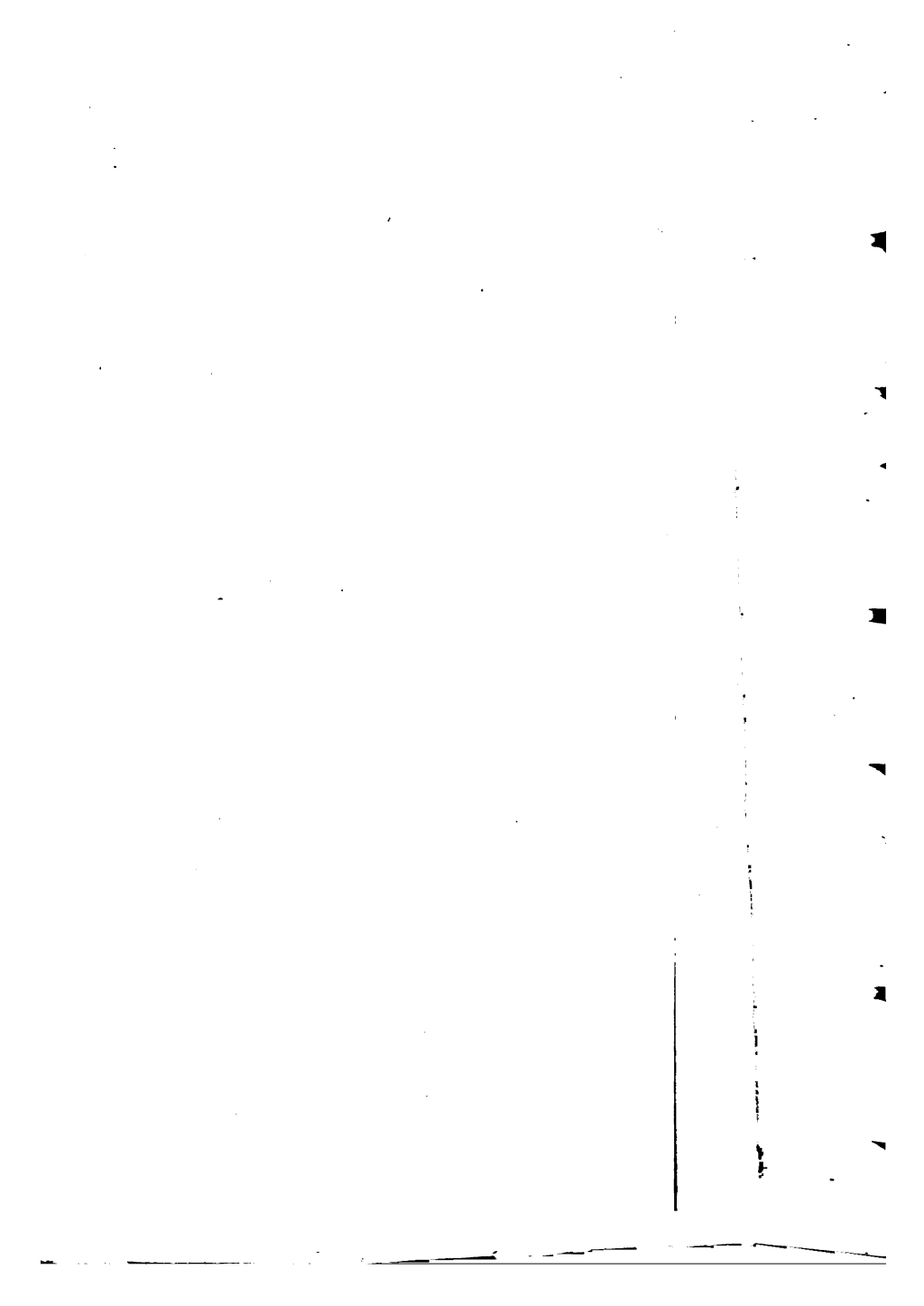
The thing to do, then, is to change the environment.

This is why the FAMILISTÈRE was founded.

Not being able to make a chateau of the tenement or the cot of each workman's family, we have sought to unite the homes of many workmen in one *palace*. The *Familistère* is the palace home of Labor—the SOCIAL PALACE OF THE FUTURE.

That which could not be done for the scattered, confused, disorderly dwellings of workmen, neither in the city nor in the country ; neither in cellars, nor garrets, nor in the best constructed isolated homes, whatever their system, the *Familistère* has accomplished—the Social Palace renders this easy ; nay, more, it renders it necessary.





FOURTH PART.

CHAPTER XX.

THE SOCIAL PALACE.

I. CHARACTER OF THE SOCIAL HOME.

In describing the first *Social Palace* that has been built, I do not propose to present its arrangements as preferable to all others that study and experience may reveal. It is not a model that I wish to offer for men to imitate ; it is rather an *exposé* of the rules to be observed in the building of Social Homes ; rules in accordance with the wants and conveniences of human nature, and consequently with the Laws of Life.

The preceding doctrine established, we put in evidence the three Primordial Laws of Human Life, which should guide all our acts, and to which the building of the Social Palace must be subordinate. Consequently it should create *for all*, easy, economical, and progressive means of living. It should afford, in the sum of its institutions, the conditions for the fulfilment of the Primordial Laws :

The preservation and the support of human life ;

The development and the progress of human life ;

The equilibrium and the harmony of human life.

The fulfilment of these laws will open, to all, the way to Right, to Duty, and to Justice.

By these characteristics we shall recognize the superiority of the home of the future over that of the past.

To obey the first primordial law, Right, the *Social Palace* renders accessible to all—

Food,
Clothing,
Lodging,
Light,

Space,
Pure Air,
Health,
Activity,

Rest,
Cleanliness,
Salubrity,
Hygiene.

To obey the second primordial law, Duty, the *Social Palace* responds to the affectional, moral, and intellectual wants :

- By the family and its principle ;
- By promoting friendship, union, and fraternity among men ;
- By the education of children and the protection of the weak ;
- By scientific and professional instruction for all ;
- By the habit of attachment to all that surrounds us ;
- By labor and production ;
- By consumption and property ;
- By the distribution and exchange of material things ;
- By security, solidarity, and association among men ;
- By sociability, by the beautiful, the agreeable, by entertainments and amusements.

Finally, to obey the third primordial law, Justice, the *Social Palace* should respond to the higher aspirations and desires of the human being :

- To be sovereign and free ;
- To be useful according to his capacity ;
- To distinguish himself according to his powers ;
- To devote himself to the social interest in the measure of his intelligence and his ability ;
- To appeal to justice and intelligence, in all things and everywhere ;
- To always seek for models in the true, the good, the beautiful, and the just.

The domestic systems which do not favor the ruling of these motives in human nature, are not organized in conformity with the destiny of man and the laws of life.

The realization of the organization of such a home has been my study. How far the Familistère meets the conditions we are about to see.

II. LOCATION.

As soon as the idea of the Social Palace shall have sufficiently made its way in the world, all the principles of social science will be brought to bear upon the choice of situation, for each palace. These locations will be determined by the nature of the resources of different countries. Agricultural conveniences must be united to those of manufacturing industry, and as many advantages as possible be united to that of topographical situation.

The location of the Familistère was decided by the wants of the people, attracted to Guise by the industry I had de-

veloped there. This industry, daily augmenting the laboring population, rendered the building of new houses necessary.

The meadows of the valley of the Oise, joining the building property of the city, was chosen as the site, and the Familistère to-day forms a new quarter of the city, through the new street I have opened and the bridge I have thrown across the Oise.

The front of the new palace faces the city, and is 180 metres in extent (over 590 feet). The left wing fronts the gardens and the buildings of the manufactory. The right wing fronts the gardens and the wooded hills that skirt the valley. The view behind the palace extends over the walks, the meadows of the valley, the windings of the river Oise, bordered with great trees, and the hills which form the horizon.

The engraving represents a general view of the Familistère, its dependencies, and its manufactory. The whole covers an area of over 44½ acres.

The palace is situated in the middle of about 15 acres of gardens, traversed by the river Oise, which winds through two-thirds of their extent. A part of this land is covered with promenades, squares, and pleasure gardens; another part is devoted to orchards and vegetable gardens.

III. VIEW AND PLAN OF THE WHOLE.

EXPLANATION OF FIG. 35. GÉNÉRAL PLAN OF THE FAMILISTÈRE.

A. A. INNER COURTS OF THE PALACE.

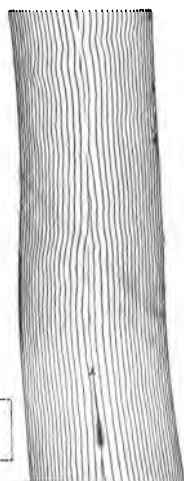
- a. Entrances, exits, and passages on the ground floor.
- b. Stairways from cellar to attic.
- c. Passages on every floor.
- d. Galleries for general circulation, passing the doors of all the apartments, communicating with the stairs and passages on all the floors, and running all around the inner courts.
- e. Water-closets and sinks for dirty water on all the floors. The dotted lines show the drains outside the building.
- f. Hydrants on every floor.
- g. Traps for sweepings.
- h. Rooms for baths and *douches*.
- i. Magazines and shops for the sale of groceries, wines, cordials, haberdashery, drygoods, clothing, shoes, etc.

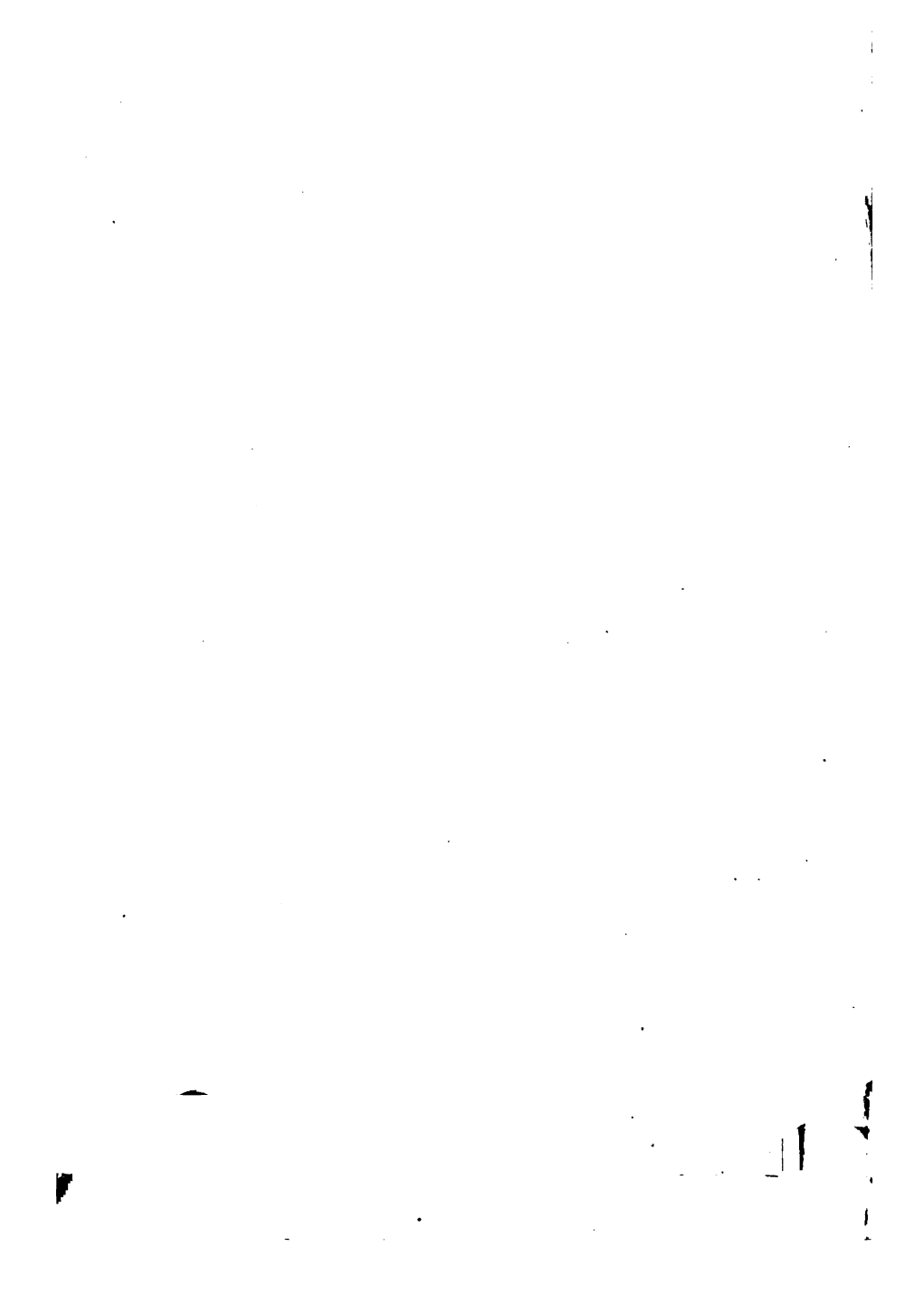
B. NURSERY AND KINDERGARTEN.

- j. Nursery.
- k. Rooms for cradles and nurses' beds.
- l. The "Promenade"—invention aiding children to walk.
- m. Domestic office.
- n. Earth-closets for children and nurses.
- o. Nursery. "Promenade" and hall for the first gymnastical exercises of children from two to four years.
- p. Room for rest and the first lessons of children of four years.
- q. Covered promenade outside, communicating with the lawns and garden.

C. CLASS-ROOMS FOR GENERAL INSTRUCTION.

- r. Grounds and entrance courts of the school-houses, opening also into the conference halls, or committee rooms.
- s. General assembly hall for the schools, conventions, and theatrical representations.
- t. Bambinat or Kindergarten for children of 4 to 6 years.
- u. School for the third division—children of 6 to 8 years.
- v. School for the second division—girls and boys of 8 to 10 years.
- x. School for the first division—girls and boys of 10 and over.
- y. Stage of the theatre.
- z. Vestibule on the ground floor. The green-room of the theatre; conference, and orchestra rooms are on the second floor.
- z'. Water-closets.





D. D. COURTS OF OUTER BUILDINGS.

- a'. Slaughter-house and meat of all kinds.
- b', b'. Kitchens.
- c'. Restaurant.
- d'. Billiards and other games.
- e', e', e'. Carriage-house.
- f', f', f'. Stables, pig-pens, chicken-yards, etc.
- g', g'. Bakery.
- h', h'. Café, casino (club-room).
- i', i', i'. Various *ateliers* (studios or workshops).

E. LAUNDRY, WASH-HOUSE, AND SWIMMING-BATHS.

- j'. Bureau (business office).
- k', k'. Laundry.
- l', l', l'. Wash-tubs.
- m'. Rinsing-tubs.
- n'. *Essoreuses*.
- o'. Bath-rooms.
- p'. Private wash-rooms.
- q'. Swimming-bath.

F. GAS-WORKS.

The general plan of the Familistère, as the engraving shows, comprises three principal buildings united. These contain the apartments of the families, and the store-houses and shops containing all things necessary to domestic life.

The motives which led me to divide the Familistère into three parallelograms, were not what might be considered architectural reasons. I reflected that the building of apartments for 1,200 to 1,500 persons might prove a hazardous enterprise, and moreover I had not the means to build, at once, so large an edifice. I therefore decided to provide for one-third of this number. The idea of uniting these parallelograms was agreeable to my idea of harmony, and could be realized by successive enterprises. This plan, at the same time, permitted me to profit by experience in a matter too new to not require much practical information, which I should need in the development of the work I had commenced.

The three parallelograms of the palace enclose three interior courts, around which rise the four stories of the structure.*

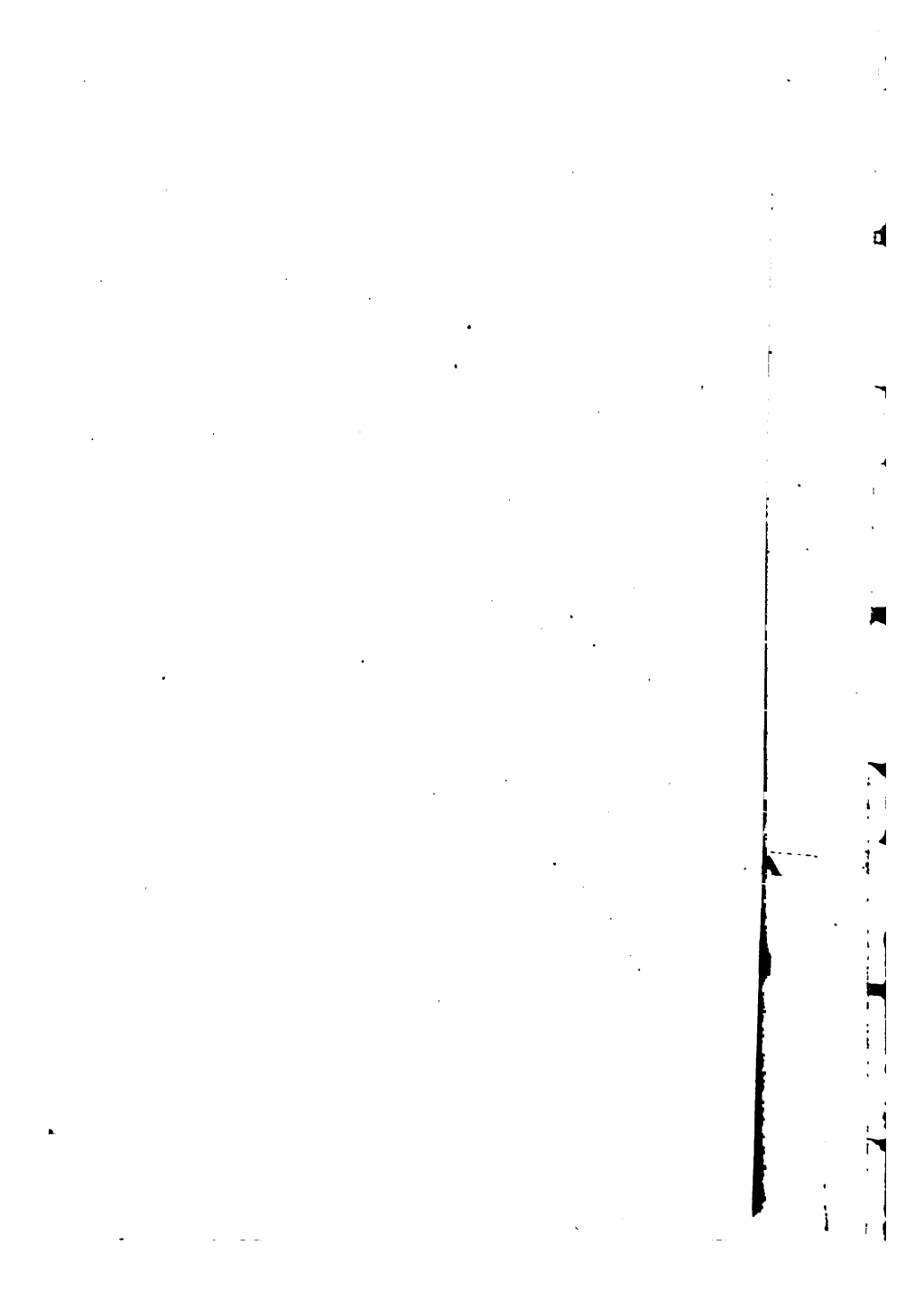
The central building is 213 feet broad by 131 feet deep (65 metres by 40). Its interior court is 147 feet long, and 65½ feet broad. The two other rectangles forming the wings of the palace are projected in front beyond the central one, and forming a place before it.

The left wing is 164 feet front, by 124½ deep. Its interior court is 59 feet broad and 98½ long. The right wing is 177 feet front, and the same depth as the left. The total distance around the walls is 1,476 feet.

The courts are paved with a cement, hard and even like asphaltum. Ten passages on the ground floor communicate with the interior courts, the central exterior place, the street, and the gardens; they give access also to the staircases, which are placed in the angles of the parallelograms. These conduct to galleries on every floor, which serve for communication between the apartments. Corridors, leading between the galleries, connect the three inner courts, and permit the general circulation of the population throughout the whole extent of the palace.

* At the present date there is a fourth parallelogram, as large or larger than the first, and built at some little distance from them.—*Tr.*





IV. DETAILS OF CONSTRUCTION.

The Familistère is built on the alluvial soil composing the valley of the Oise. To protect the building from the swelling of the river, the cellars, throughout their whole extent, are constructed above the ground level, and a terrace surrounds the palace, so that the ground floor is a little more than eight feet above the level of the meadow.

The foundations of the palace are laid on the surface of the ground, and are nearly nine feet broad at their base. This precaution is to prevent the mass of the building from sinking in the sandy soil.

The section of the centre of the palace (Plates 36 and 37) shows the principal interior plan of the building.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ELEVATION, PLATE 36.

A. GROUND FLOOR.

FOUNDATION.

- b. Cellars of the building.
- c. Corridors of the cellars.
- d. General drains of the cellars in which are laid the water-pipes supplying all the four stories and the reservoirs placed on the roof.
- e. Extra cellar entrance in the plane of the façade.
- f. Cellars under the courts.
- g. Subterranean galleries of ventilation.
- h. Openings into the subterranean galleries of ventilation.
- i. Conduits of ventilation of the apartments between the cellar vaults and the ground floor.

B. INTERIOR COURT, GROUND FLOORS, AND UPPER STORIES.

- j. Entrances to the galleries, passage-ways, stairs, and hydrants.
- k. Galleries of general circulation around the courts, on each story, supported by the projection of the floor beams under them.
- l. Doors entering the suites of rooms.

C. GLASS ROOF OVER COURT AND GALLERIES.

- m. Rain gutters (for the rain on glass roof and inner sides of the roof of the quadrangle), passing through the garrets to the descent pipes on the outside of the buildings.
- n. Pavillion on glass roof for ventilation.

D. INTERIOR OF APARTMENTS.

- o. Vestibule door.
- p. Pantry and dish-closet.
- q. Cupboards.
- r. Opening in the masonry of the wall permitting the insertion of a door, so that any suite of rooms can be enlarged quickly and easily at any time.
- s. Air tubes in the chimneys for ventilating the apartments.

E. GARRETS.

- t. Corridors.

The cellars are over seven and a half feet deep. Those under the dwelling portion of the palace are devoted to the use of the inhabitants ; those under the courts serve as general store-houses for the liquids, fruits, and vegetables necessary for the people. The floor of the cellars is rendered water-tight by a solid cement.

The walls of the apartments of the lower story are ten and one-third feet from floor to ceiling ; on the second the same ; on the third over nine and a half ; on the fourth nearly nine feet. The buildings are nearly 34 feet thick from the outside to the courts.

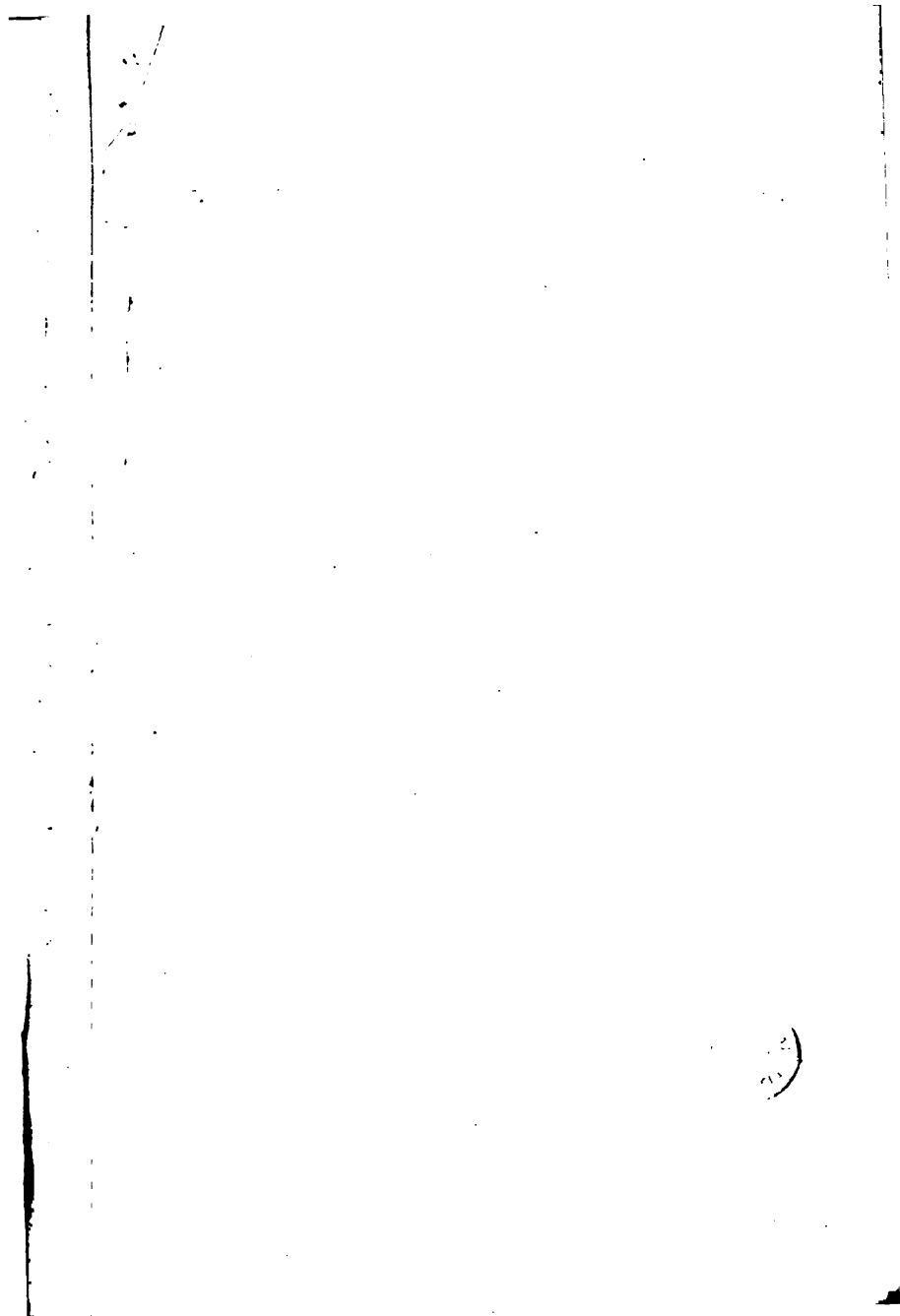
The lower walls of the quadrangles are two bricks thick—that is almost a half-yard ; from the second floor up they are of the thickness of one brick and a half, or a little over a foot thick. The longitudinal interior wall is about eight inches and a half thick, and walls of the same thickness divide the whole palace every thirty-three feet, from the ground floor to the garret. This is to prevent the spread of flames in case fire should break out in any apartment.

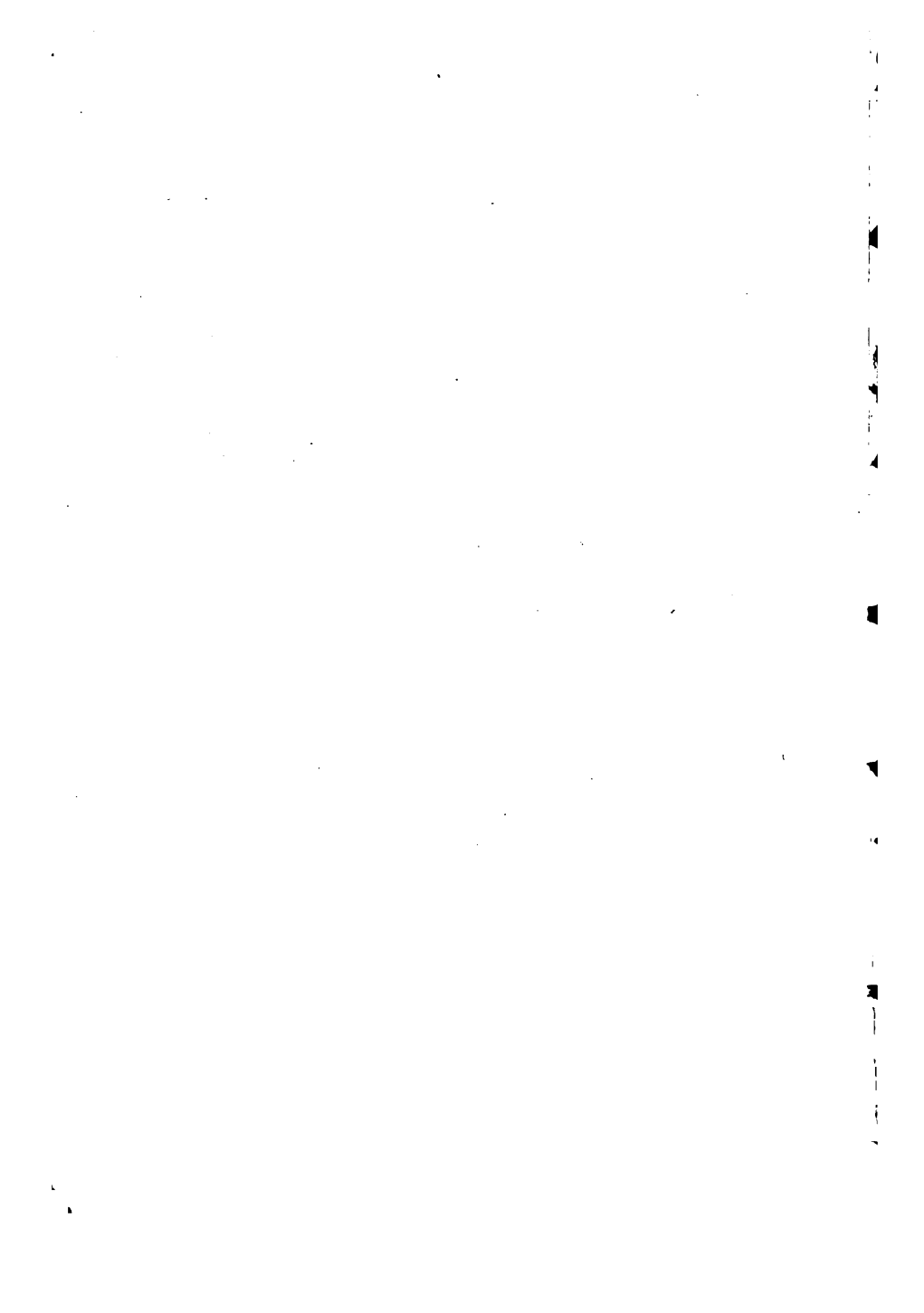
The other partition-walls are of brick and about four inches thick. No wood is used in the construction of any of the walls.

The entrances to the courts are open in summer ; in winter they are closed by doors over five feet wide, turning on a pivot at the bottom, and a *tourillon* at the top, and so easily that the smallest child can open them by pushing against one of the wings. A spiral spring placed around the *tourillon* closes them automatically behind the passer. These folding doors only serve to keep the currents of cold air from the interior of the courts. The passages from one court to another are a little over six and a half feet wide.

The semi-circular form of the staircases is preferable to all others. It is best adapted to people of all ages. On the inner side the young child will climb up the narrower steps, holding on to the railing, while grown people take the other side. The regular dimensions of stairs make them more convenient to ascend and descend in the night, or when there is a crowd. Stairs for general communication should be about five feet broad, with the centre a semi-circle $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. Other stairs should be about four feet wide. The height of the stair should not exceed 16 ctm. (a little over six inches). Staircases should be constructed in stone, or of cast iron and cement, in order to avoid the noise of wood.

The galleries of the Familistère are 4.285 feet wide from the wall to the balustrade. The balustrades are 3.28 feet high. The bars are round, straight, and 3.28 inches apart. No child





can pass his head between the bars, nor climb to the top of the balustrade.

The galleries are broad enough for all the requirements of circulation, as experience has demonstrated. Their breadth could not be increased without interfering too much with the light of the apartments below. These galleries make balconies for each apartment, from which the people contemplate the reunions, the sports of the children, and all the movements of the crowd on fête days.

The preceding plate shows that the apartments are a double row of rooms, one opening on the court, the other on the exterior façade. This permits the complete ventilation of every room.

The floors of the galleries, and also of the apartments, are laid with tiles, and are therefore very easy to keep clean, besides being fire-proof.

All the rooms are ceiled and the walls carefully plastered and hard-finished. This is easily renewed when soiled. Those in easy circumstances put paper on their walls, or any hanging they prefer.

The rule for the arrangement of the rooms is this: the door is placed at a sufficient distance from the end of the room to allow a bed to be placed either way, with the night table at the head, and the door, beyond the bed, always at a sufficient distance from the other corner of the chamber to afford room for a closet or a chest of drawers.

Thus the smallest chambers have,

For the length of the bed and its curtains ..	9 ft. 9½ in.
For the width of the door.....	2 ft. 5½ in.
For the space between the door and the wall, giving room for a bureau or closet.....	2 ft. 1½ in.
Total width of the smallest chamber.	12 ft. 5½ in.

Most generally the first room from the court is,

In length.....	14 ft. 9 in.
In width.....	12 ft. 10 in.

A closet at the end of the vestibule is,

In length	4 ft. 9 in.
In width	3 ft. 11 in.

The second room opening on the front of the Palace is,

In length	15 ft. 4½ in.
In width	15 ft. 7 in.

The closet in this room is,

In length	5 ft. 7 in.
In height	8 ft. 6 in.
In depth	1 ft. 7 in.

All the joiner's work is done with the greatest care and upon the best models. In building on so large a scale, it is possible to so organize the work that it can be done with good care, and at a moderate price.

The doors opening from the vestibule to the gallery are made with two wings.

The larger, the one opening, is	2 ft. 9 in.
The other is	1 ft. 5½ in.

Total width of door	4 ft. 3 in.
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The height of the doors on the ground floor, the second and third, are 7 feet 7 inches, with an impost above, which raises the height of the opening to the height of the windows.

The doors on the fourth floor have only one wing. They are 8 feet 4 inches high, and 3 feet 3 inches broad. Their upper panel is of glass, as a substitute for the impost, through which the vestibule is lighted, on the other floors.

The doors of the first, second, and third floors are,

In height	7 ft. 4½ in.
In width	2 ft. 5 in.

Those of the fourth are,

In height	6 ft. 7 in.
In width	2 ft. 5 in.

The doors between the apartments on the three lower floors are,

In height	7 ft. 5½ in.
In width	2 ft. 5 in.

Those of the fourth floor are,

In height	6 ft. 7 in.
In width	2 ft. 5 in.

The doors of the closets are,

In height	6 ft. 4 in.
In width	1 ft. 11½ in.

The dimensions of the windows of the apartments on the ground floor are

Height	7 ft. 3 in.
Width	3 ft. 11 in.

(The windows of the shops are larger.)

Second floor: height.....	7 ft.
width.....	3 ft. 9 in.
Third floor: height.....	7 ft. 6 in.
width.....	3 ft. 7 in.
Fourth floor: height.....	4 ft. 4 in.
width.....	3 ft. 3½ in.

Most of the chambers are lighted in the centre, by a window which supplies an abundance of light. On each side of the window there is a large space, which is generally occupied by the furniture of the family.

We will not pursue these details further, for this is not a treatise on building. It seemed proper to present these principal data, which, though very simple in appearance, may avoid a great deal of trouble to anyone seriously undertaking architectural reform in the interests of social progress.

If I ever find the time, I mean to take up the subject of social architecture in detail. I should trace various plans of unitary habitations, or palaces, destined to realize the happiness of the people under the influence of association, and the reforms which will be effected at no very distant time.

As for the present, I think it pertinent to sketch roughly the principles, based upon the facts I have realized, which should serve as a frame-work for such studies.

V. ADVANTAGES OF ARCHITECTURAL UNITY.

None will deny that whatever the simplicity of the architectural execution of the whole, as indicated in this rapid *exposé*, the result is a building of remarkable importance.

The fact that it is built with care, that the façades are studied, that the architecture is choice, shows that we are not in presence of a habitation of poverty and misery, but of a great Palace where the home of the workman is completely transformed; where life passes under new conditions of every kind, offering the inhabitant comforts and advantages impossible to the laborer under other circumstances.

Once started on the way to good, or to evil, everything tends to accelerate progress. As soon as the home unites and concentrates the elements of comfort previously enumerated, the people are no longer obliged to consume their scanty incomes because of the thousand inconveniences induced by

exterior causes. These no longer exist, and the laborer can dispose of his time and his wages directly for the greatest good of himself and family.

The Social Palace, then, is not only a better shelter for the workman than the isolated home ; besides this, it is the medium of individual dignity and progress, and simply and precisely because it gives at the outset the conditions for the full development of the *physical life*, that it opens for the people new horizons for the *moral life*. If it did not do this it would fail in its object.

In order to never lose sight of this truth, it must be remembered that the guide and supreme law of our study was *Life and its Needs*, and that the problem we proposed to solve, was to assure to the masses the equivalents of wealth ; that is to say, the advantages that wealth procures.

We ought, then, to find in the Social Palace all that is necessary to life, and all that which, rendering life agreeable, aids its progress. Let us see how the Familistère answers the demands of physical life externally and internally, and what are the moral influences of satisfying these demands upon those immediately concerned.

VI. FACILITY OF COMMUNICATION.

The dwelling apartments and the buildings composing the Familistère are comprised in a radius of over 295 feet. If they were built in a line, with a cellar, ground floor and garret simply, they would extend 7,216 feet, and would make a street 3,618 feet long ; and if these buildings were scattered after the manner of villages, the population would be spread over about two miles in every direction.

This alone shows the facility of communications in the Familistère. Here 1,500 or more persons can see each other, visit each other, go to their daily domestic occupations, reunite in public places, go to market or shopping, under covered galleries, without having to traverse more than 30 or 40 rods and as comfortably in one kind of weather as another.

In the village the inhabitants often have to walk several miles to get to their work, and this in all weather, while the work they do may be poorly paid and useless to humanity. The Social Palace, on the contrary, calls its inhabitants to useful occupations, for their activity is directly productive.

Again, in the Familistère the schools are by the side of the dwelling. The children are always near to the family, and the

eyes of the father and mother can watch them to the very classrooms, or seek them out in the courts and gardens of the Palace at their play.

The facility of communication makes the Social Palace, of all habitations, the one best adapted to elevate the moral and intellectual plane of the people; and as these conveniences render life easy, save time, and relieve the mind from petty anxieties, the attention can be given to the study of questions of progress and social life, through reading the journals and books of the library accessible to the whole population.

VII. DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

Let us consider the proposition that there is a connection between the progress of the masses and that of social architecture; that is to say, the thought that presides over the construction of edifices destined for the well-being of the people. It must be so, because the architectural surrounding leads to a predetermined usage, and therefore to special results.

The Social Palace must lead to its own special results, not simply because of its dwelling advantages, but above all by the concentration of social advantages. Among the first effects, must be the increase of comforts among the poor. The amelioration of their condition is due, first to the superiority of the habitation; and then to all the advantages which surround the home. Thus the Social Palace, in exercising its beneficent mission for the benefit of the masses, becomes the pacific means of securing the advantages that wealth produces. In such a position, the laborer needs only the resources of his work, to secure a tranquil and easy life.

Without at first changing anything in the habits of the people, the Social Palace gradually creates a spirit of prevision and economy among those to whom, in the isolated condition, saving was impossible, for the very fact of foresight itself is, to the poor, but a new consciousness of their unfortunate condition.

Indeed, what use is it to the laborer to think of providing for the future, when his utmost efforts are only able to obtain to-day what must necessarily be consumed to-morrow? Indifference to the future, under such circumstances, is the surest way to soften present ills.

But that which is impossible to the workman's family in isolation, becomes easy in an association of many persons. In

the present state, the dealer buys at wholesale and retails at a profit, which the consumers have to pay, and therefore the quantity of their purchases is diminished. Yet where the consumers are scattered and divided in their interests, they see only in the multiplicity of "middle men" an easier way to have the things of first necessity in every quarter, even though the duties they must thus pay are very burdensome.

In the Social Palace these "middle men" can be suppressed. All goods and merchandise can be bought by an agent at wholesale, and sold directly to the people who are benefited by the profits.

Parasite functionaries are avoided, and every one can be engaged productively. The number of people just necessary to sell the goods in the stores of the Palace are fairly paid for their services, and the merchant is no speculator living on the consumer.

The concentration of the homes in the Palace renders parasitic functions useless. The commercial reform by which economists have so long sought to dispense with "middle men" is effected with the greatest ease. There is no longer a retailer established at every corner of the street to exploit a neighborhood. Supplies of provisions of all kinds are to be had in the Palace, and for the sole benefit of the mass of consumers.

The commercial profit realized in this way, is the most stable element of the budget which supports the institutions for physical and moral development.

The commercial organization in the Familistère, brings within reach of every inhabitant all the goods and provisions required in the family, establishes economy upon the purchases, for the benefit of the poor as well as the rich, and assures to everyone in the society the profits made on the consumption.

It must not be supposed that the organization of the system for supplying the population, is not due to the concentration of the homes; *it is this very concentration which renders the perfect working of the system possible.*

VIII. GENERALIZATION OF PROSPERITY.

The laborer does not always suffer from insufficient wages; but he is often obliged to consume his gains from day to day, buying household provisions in small quantities as they are

needed, and thus constant annoyances arise. At the moment of sitting down to the table, the salt, or pepper, or oil, or vinegar is found wanting, and as the grocery is generally at an inconvenient distance, the meal is accompanied by reproaches and ill-humor.

Sometimes the mistress of the house has a pressing need to repair a rent in the clothes of the husband or children. The needles or thread are exhausted and the mending must be put off until the next marketing or shopping, and meanwhile the rent increases and the annoyance remains. Sometimes the annoyance is the arrival of a friend or relative unexpectedly; sometimes a member of the family is taken suddenly ill and a cordial or medicine is wanted, which cannot be procured in time, because of the distance of these things. Provisions are not abundant in isolated families, except among the rich or those in easy circumstances. The working-man generally depends at the moment upon the retailer.

In the Familistère the provisions are bought in view of the wants of the entire population. At all times the inhabitant can find in the Palace all that is necessary to him; and here again the equivalents of wealth are secured to the poorest person by the Palace, which holds permanently under his hand all that he may want.

Again, the display of drygoods, millinery, boots and shoes, made-up clothing, etc., constantly under the eyes of the family, naturally induces the buying of useful things—the profitable investment of the wages in articles that contribute to the charms of domestic life, and thus lessens the temptations of the wine-house and all unfruitful spending of money.

The result is, that whatever may be the poverty of the parents in the Familistère, the child is never miserable in appearance. Emulation in neatness of dress among the young pupils is a common sentiment. All are well clothed, and many with elegance.

The parents, seeing their children five times a day, reunited under the galleries of the Familistère, marching in order to their classes, are forced to make comparisons. The negligence as well as the care of parents is thus witnessed by all the population as soon as it is manifested.

The influence of this is most favorable, contributing every way to destroy that hideous aspect of misery from which the children of the poor everywhere else suffer so keenly. And if the sting of poverty is sometimes felt by the adult population of the Familistère, the child, at least, is free from it, for he lives truly happy in a fulness of life which never fails him.

The general emulation in the matter of neatness of dress, induced by the unitary home, contributes to the care of the body and to the formation of good manners and gentle address. This is made evident by the comparison of the manners of different people. A great difference in manners exists between the city person and the villager; between those in comfortable circumstances and the poor. Sociability is augmented by good surroundings and by the free and disinterested mingling with our kind. When the individual, instead of feeling humiliated by poverty, can present himself worthily before the eyes of his fellow-beings, he feels himself ennobled. This is the sentiment experienced by the child of the laborer in the Familistère. From his entrance into life, he knows nothing of those humiliations of poverty which so often brutalize the body and the soul.

In the Social Palace, classes and conditions are mingled. By intelligence and culture, individuals shine and distinguish themselves; and among a population commencing a new existence like this, it is especially upon the children that the happy effects of a true social life are soonest apparent. Thus the childhood of the Familistère is happy—happy in that liberty that no other place can offer, in the same broad and generous way.

Everything charms the child in the Social Palace; the greenswards, the shady walks, the swimming baths, the orchards and gardens, the children's library, the great halls for all degrees of instruction and training, the vast, glass-roofed courts, where in hours of recreation he can play in all weather, frolic at his ease with his comrades—and all near the dwelling of his parents.

Outside as well as inside of the palace, all is arranged to keep the child from hurtful temptations which might incur reproaches from the parents, or what is worse, that bad treatment of which he is so often the victim in other places, when he returns home with his clothes soiled with the mud of the street or by other filth.

Gymnastic exercises and games of skill which are constant in the Familistère, give to all the children more careful habits of movement and more temperate than those produced by the disorderly and turbulent plays of country children; plays in which stains and rents in the dress are almost inevitable, and prove the despair of the mother and the terror of the child.

By exercise the movements of the body model themselves upon habits of intelligence; and discretion comes sooner to

the child in a condition where social influences act upon him constantly and in every way than it does where the forms of wild and undisciplined nature alone are offered to him.

The Social Palace, in fact, supplies to childhood elements of pleasure and happiness that are found nowhere else.

The particular description that we shall give of the principal details of the Familistère and its dependencies will further confirm the great influence that material surroundings exert upon man.

The external physical needs being satisfied by lodging and clothing, how does the Social Palace aid in the satisfaction of the internal needs—that is to say, alimentation?

In this, as in all else touching questions of individual liberty, the Social Palace has but one rôle to fill : to render easier the exercise of individual liberty ; to aid the family in its own way of living ; and to offer the choice, when possible, of the best means and the best processes.

Good food is necessary to all. It is an object constantly sought by all of us, and yet only a few up to this time have ever attained it.

How is it possible to explain that a necessity of human life so universal as that of food should not have resulted in more rapid progress in the processes of nourishing the species? It is because, more than all other needs of man, that of food is subject to the influence of social organization. The vicissitudes and the instability of human affairs, which divided interests and hostility between men have produced, affect alimentation especially, because this is a need that cannot suffer interruption. Consequently any derangement in the march of the affairs of society creates disturbances in the nourishment of the people, because to them the capital fact is—*how to live*. Wages and labor are involved in this problem.

From labor man must obtain his subsistence ; from the soil, well cultivated, he must obtain the necessities of life ; by utilizing all that proceeds from it, he renders life easy. When his activity is turned from this task imposed by nature, error and suffering commence. War, above all things, leads to these sad results. The products of labor become insufficient, and the little that man realizes from it is absorbed by public expenses. The industry of the people is turned from its natural course and put to the vile service of disorderly pride and ambition, whose only end is to ravage and stain the earth with blood, instead of rendering it productive for the benefit of humanity.

Thus human misery is perpetuated from century to century.

The people are ever the victims of insensate or despotic governments which, throughout the ages, have made every woe they have heaped upon humanity the foundation of their military glory.

The sentiment of justice is corrupted by contact with the manners of war. The powerful acquire the habit of considering the people with less interest than they do the beast. They are but the instruments of their caprice and will.

And the people then have nothing to sustain themselves with except the scanty products of the earth, which abandons them when they withhold their cares from her. Nature thus throws upon humanity the responsibility of the evils that society suffers through having yielded to tyranny and servitude.

The progress of the art of living is difficult under such conditions. The food and the comfort of the people are the last things that governments trouble themselves about. They are satisfied with the position made for themselves; for, before all things, the people must work to support the liberticidal glory of their oppressors!

Tyranny, war, servitude, unproductive labor, and isolation, have been the principal obstacles in the way of the healthful and abundant nutriment of the people. Therefore the culinary art among the working-classes is one of the least developed. The people, isolated and divided by despotism, have not had the power to unite nor associate their forces for the true amelioration of their condition. Ground down by poverty, each one has thought only of himself, and the spirit of individualism has become so rooted in the heart that for a long time to come it will prove the greatest hindrance to social progress. This spirit serves as a justification of egoism and of the imperfection of the laws which place no limit to the monopoly of the fruits of labor, which are prodigally consumed by a few, or allowed to remain uselessly stored away, while the useful citizens perish in misery after a long life of unremitting toil!

The democratic institution of the Social Palace, under the auspices of peace, liberty, productive labor, the association of families and the intelligent application of capital, will produce a contrary result.

There are other reasons also why the subject of nutriment has been abandoned to chance up to this time. Those who have enjoyed the favors of fortune have never imagined that it was possible to create surroundings for the people that would secure their comfort and ease. The most advanced nations of

the earth have never dreamed of studying methods of alimentation, still less of making it the subject of regular instruction. Complete empiricism reigns over the function which most vitally concerns man.

The isolated state of families seems to assign to woman the function of domestic economy and the care of the nutriment ; the complete mastery, then, of the preparation of aliments should be in her rôle ; and yet great care is taken to initiate her into nothing which concerns the comfort of the family and its most important economies.

In nearly all cases the well-bred young lady who has been in a boarding-school up to the age of sixteen or eighteen is a woman incapable of keeping her house or bringing up her children. It would seem rather a disgrace for her to know the useful and necessary details of housekeeping. And such is the training given nearly everywhere to women by our ridiculous social notions, that no true knowledge of the needs of life enters into their education, and most of them become wives and mothers without any conception of the duties that the position imposes. Recourse must therefore be had to the laboring classes ; but what can be expected from the girl or the woman of the people whose entire existence has been one of privations ? She is, consequently, without regular instruction in hygiene, in the art of cooking, in anything relating to domestic economy. It is evident, therefore, that this science is to be evolved for the poor as well as for the rich classes.

If the preparation of food is nearly always abandoned to ignorance and incapacity, what must be the repast in the home of the laborer, where not only the time of the husband is absorbed in daily labor to satisfy the pressing needs of his family, but also where the wife works in the field or factory, hoping thereby to add some grace to the comforts of home ? But what can this amount to when the preparation of the food is almost totally neglected ?

In such conditions, where the demands of labor scarcely leave time for eating, there is no time to prepare a savory soup or proper food of any kind. No ; the laborer must repair his forces with a piece of bread, some cheese, raw vegetables, or fruits ; sometimes with a little salt meat cooked on the stove. At other times, alas ! the laborer is forced to make his meal with the morsel of hard bread that his children have begged.

The family of the laborer, then, abandoned to itself, cannot possibly obtain properly prepared food.

The *cuisine* is a special art which can only be acquired by

practice and study. The rich employ competent cooks for this function. How shall the Social Palace supply to its inhabitants the equivalent of wealth in this respect, when the integral association of labor and capital is not realized in such a way as to create easy circumstances for all?

The answer is very simple. We see it would be impossible to find for the three or four hundred families of the Social Palace as many *cordons-bleus* * capable of making the most of the resources of each family in regard to food; but we see that it would be easy to find a few capable persons, possessing the necessary skill in cooking, to open a grand cooking department where all the members can go and get whatever food they please, and all prepared in the best manner.

This is, in fact, what the Familistère offers to all its inhabitants. Families there are not obliged to eat dry bread at meal-time. They find in the cooking department good soups, cooked meats, ragoûts, and vegetables, thus permitting the instantaneous preparation of a nice meal, to which the laborer sits down in his apartments, with his wife, coming, like him, from her work, and with the children re-entering from school.†

For those who have time and desire to do their own cooking in their apartments, the Familistère offers every facility. Its resources in this respect are complete. Without going out of the Palace, the inhabitant finds the butcher's shop, the grocery, the *charcuterie*,‡ bread, butter, cheese, vegetables of all kinds, and beverages. Beer, cider, and wine are bought in great quantities, and for that reason a good quality is always secured. Every member can have on his table a drink always fresh, and in no danger of souring or becoming flat; for the beverage is better in proportion as the consumption is large.

This examination of the conditions for the satisfaction of external and internal comforts shows that the Social Palace system must some day come to the aid of all who are deprived of these generous advantages, which no ordinary co-operative establishment can guarantee.

* *Cordon-bleu*—a knight of the order of the Holy Ghost; by pleasantry, a professional cook.

† The public cooking department of the Familistère has given place to a restaurant proper, because the great majority of people seemed to prefer it, when not preparing the food in their own apartments.

‡ We need this word because we have none that expresses the meaning. It is a shop where pork in all conceivable forms and combinations is sold (and the French have many of these combinations which we have not), as well as rare potted meats of every description.

In whatever way we view the Social Palace, we see it assures to the working-classes the equivalents of wealth, which, in isolation, their wages are all the more inadequate to attain, since they are often badly economized.

The most searching examination of the material arrangements of the Familistère will more and more confirm this truth, that the social progress of the people is dependent upon the progress of social architecture.

IX. VENTILATION AND GENERAL SALUBRITY.

Air is one of the first elements of existence. Night and day, asleep or awake, it supports our forces and is indispensable to the functions of life. It is, therefore, most important that ventilation should be perfectly secured by the architecture of the dwelling.

Without air the organs cease to perform their functions and man dies. In an impure air the health deteriorates, therefore we must have a plentiful supply of pure air, or we introduce morbid principles into the vital economy.

But if this is true in general, if man should drain and render healthy the soil to avoid deleterious emanations, so much the more should he provide for the salubrity of his dwelling. Unfortunately, this fact has been too much overlooked heretofore; and the Social Palace ought not to fail in this respect. Around the buildings all is clean and wholesome. There are no stagnant waters nor anything in a state of decay. All the sewers and cisterns have their siphons. No emanation from them is possible. The courts and all the promenades of the lawns and gardens are so many broad areas for the free movement of the air purified by contact with vegetation and nowhere vitiated by any mephitic exhalation.

The ventilation of the courts and of the apartments is effected by large subterranean passages, opening toward the north in the gardens behind the Palace. These galleries are thirteen feet square. They pass under the buildings and circulate in subterranean vaults under the ground of the courts at the base of the interior façades, thus cooling the air in summer and tempering it in winter. Openings at regular distances, covered by iron gratings, on a level with the ground in the courts, admit the air from these subterranean galler-

ies. In winter, during excessively cold weather, to avoid a useless airing from the exterior of the Palace, the entrance to these galleries is temporarily closed by great doors that intercept the draught.

From the general experience of the condition in and about the dwellings of the poor, people are so imbued with the idea that any agglomeration of laborers must be unfavorable to health, that visitors to the Familistère, though surprised at the general air of cleanliness, are greatly occupied by the subject of ventilation. One fact strikes them; the courts are roofed with glass. "This must be like a hot-house in summer," they think. Impressions arise generally from the facts one has seen; and scientific results are not what most people observe first.

The truth is, that glass intercepts the heat of the sun's rays in a great degree. What makes the green-house so warm is the air unrenewed, and preserving its acquired heat. The glass roofs of the courts in the Familistère are arranged for ventilation. There are large openings which allow the heated air to escape, and this heated air is immediately replaced by cool air coming from the subterranean galleries. It follows, therefore, that the glazing itself tempers the ardor of the sun, keeps the air more cool in summer, preserves the dwellings from the cold winds and all inclemencies of the weather; while by the aid of the self-closing doors leading out of the courts, there is maintained throughout the Palace in winter so mild a temperature that the people can circulate anywhere in light clothing.

Without supposing it positively established that the method of ventilation in the Familistère is the best that could be conceived, and most in accordance with the scientific conditions of perfect ventilation, it will be well to examine its advantages in respect to the general health.

In the first place, the air being the only thing passing through the galleries of ventilation, it is easy to keep it always perfectly pure—an essential condition of the ventilation of the Familistère, and then all the air which enters the edifice being taken from the same place, it can be subjected to such processes as may be considered necessary to render it wholesome.

Unitary architecture is the only one that permits these means of ventilating the dwelling of the laborer, and the Familistère is the first example.

Regarding the question of ameliorating the dwellings of the people, many well-meaning persons have extolled the separa-

tion of their homes as a sanitary measure ; not perceiving that this is only moving in the same old rut, where individual ignorance will still maintain the evils from which sanitary commissions, despite all their efforts, are powerless to deliver the working-classes.

In the unitary homes of the Social Palace, if any unhealthful condition should arise, it is instantly perceived by all, and every member has a direct interest in combating it.

X. AIR. VENTILATION OF APARTMENTS.

All the apartments in the Palace opening on the interior courts on one side and on the exterior of the building on the other, there is everywhere a free access for the pure air from the orchards and gardens. The difference of equilibrium which exists almost permanently between the exterior atmosphere and that which escapes through the windows of the interior courts, produces a gentle ventilation throughout the Palace which is very much enjoyed in summer.

The ventilation of the apartments in the Familistère is effected by the construction of the edifice. The measures taken for this object merit the attention of science, for the question of the best air for breathing in dwelling-houses is far from being settled. The most conflicting ideas still prevail on many points of this important part of hygiene, and there are serious reasons for and against the various opinions held.

Much attention has been given to the ventilation of public places and the renewal of the air where many persons are assembled ; but it is important to know just what proportion of this renewal is most favorable to health in dwelling apartments during sleeping and working ; and if, indeed, in the former it may not be better to avoid this renewal, when the apartments are sufficiently large to contain the air necessary for respiration during sleep.

It is known that in living-rooms, currents of air of different temperatures and different degrees of humidity, are often pernicious to health. A current of cold air in a place where many persons are assembled is dangerous, especially when the atmosphere being respired is warm and charged with vapor. But to what are the dangerous effects due ? And if they are so easily traced by their gravity in certain signal cases, may they not be gradually, but certainly, produced with-

out being remarked in the daily course of life? To answer these questions requires a knowledge of the chemical phenomena attending the combination of cold with warm and moist air—perhaps the phenomena of the action of the infinitesimal in the particles of air, and the mode of action of this infinitesimal upon the health.

With this knowledge, it would be possible to decide from what point the air should come and the best way of introducing it into the chambers. But, aside from the air entering by doors and windows, that introduced by the chimneys must be taken into account. When the air in the chimney is heated, there is a draught which forces the air into the room by all the cracks, and by the ventilators if there are any. On the other hand, when the air is cold in the chimney, or from any cause which prevents the draught, the air is forced back into the room and escapes through the door and window crevices. The chimneys are therefore a cause of almost permanent currents of air in houses. In rooms where there are no chimneys there is no perceptible change of the air, except by opening doors or windows.

In the absence of sufficient knowledge of the laws governing ventilation, practical indications guided the arrangement of the ventilation and warming in the Familistère.

The air circulating through subterranean vaults loses a part of its heat in summer and of its coldness in winter; and for this reason, the subterranean galleries which we have described were chosen.

Openings are constructed under the ground floor, above the cellar vaults, and tubes in the partition walls pass through these openings into the underground galleries, and thus the air rises into the apartments. This arrangement serves two ends: in winter the air arrives at the apartments at a mild temperature, where it can be warmed for all the rooms; and in summer it effects a cool and agreeable temperature when the heat outside is excessive.

XI. AIR. TEMPERATURE AND WARMING.

The ventilating tubes we have just described form a part of the chimney system adopted in the Familistère.

This system differs considerably from anything that has been done hitherto in the way of warming. It is composed of the simple tubes in question, which commence in the con-

duits communicating with the galleries of ventilation and end in the bodies of the chimneys ; that is, forming themselves the chimneys which rise above the Palace roofs. These tubes are constructed side by side in the walls of separation, and are seven inches square. By putting a diaphragm in the tubes of the chambers of each story, a little above the floor, and constructing a ventilator under this diaphragm, the rooms are ventilated by the air from below, while the upper part of the tube serves for a smoke chimney. Thus constructed, the chimneys have no projection in the apartment, and the fireplaces fitted to them are a separate construction. These are portable arrangements placed against the chimney, whether for cooking or heating purposes.

The ventilator which is open near the floor can be so disposed that the air can be warmed by the stove before it circulates in the room, so that the ventilation may be effected by warm air when desired.

This system of ventilation was adopted in view of an intention for the future which cannot now be put in practice. These subterranean galleries may be provided with hot air furnaces, and in this way the whole establishment be warmed in winter, relieving the inhabitants from the trouble of warming their own rooms. But this plan could be put in operation only with the progress of sentiments of fraternity, and the agreement which increased comfort and a thorough comprehension of the principles of domestic economy would produce.

Meanwhile, much has been accomplished in the way of ventilation and temperature, by the construction of the Familistère. The apartments here are warmer in winter and cooler in summer than in other dwellings. This is secured, first, from the system of ventilation, and then from the fact that (the buildings being all of the same height) the lodgings are mutually protected from the action of winds in winter and of the sun in summer ; while the vast lighted courts forming the centres of the Palace, are protected from the weather, and protect the apartments in their turn. Suffering from cold, so common in laborers' families, is unknown in the Familistère.

XII. AIR. ABSENCE OF INSECTS.

The absence of insects in the Familistère is perhaps the best indication of its healthfulness ; at all events, it is another cause of tranquillity to add to the advantages of the dwelling,

and to be mentioned as speaking well for the associates of the Palace.

Everyone knows how exceedingly troublesome in most workmen's houses, and especially in the country, are the swarms of flies that infest them. The reason is that around these houses are dirty and stagnant waters, matter in a state of decomposition, and piles of garbage, which are so many centres for the hatching of the larvæ of insects. Nothing of this kind can occur in the Familistère; therefore flies are very rare, and during many years they have been entirely absent. The forty horses attached to the service of the manufactory cause a few in the stables of the Familistère; but for these there would be none in the Palace.

One fact very suggestive of the advantages of the unitary home for the application of means to destroy vermin, is the absence of fleas among a population but just risen from a condition of great poverty.

The means used on one occasion will serve for an example. After the first winter of the occupation of the Familistère, fleas made a sudden appearance, commencing in the dormitories devoted to foreign workmen. In less than eight days this invasion of fleas entirely disappeared, not only in the apartments of the Palace, but in the dormitories of its dependencies.

To effect this result the steward of the Familistère ordered a mixture of coal-tar and sawdust sufficient to form a black powder, and during two or three days, after the inhabitants were in bed, this powder was strewn in small quantity on the pavements of the courts and in the subterranean galleries of ventilation. This simple operation, which sufficed in a few days to cause the total disappearance of these insects, could be performed, if necessary, without any person perceiving it. In the early morning, before the people are up, the sweeping of the courts removes this coal-tar powder, which has, indeed, nothing disagreeable about it, and it might be used at any hour of the day.

In the ordinary home nothing like this is possible, since the evil you get rid of to-day is renewed to-morrow by the surroundings or by many causes. The care and neatness of a few families is powerless against the ignorance and indifference of the many.

The intelligent management at the Social Palace, and the general neatness of the place, relieves the family, without their knowledge of it, from those annoyances by which nature carries disquiet and misery into unhealthy dwellings, in order

to force man to improve his surroundings by obeying her laws.

How infinitely more simple it is to prevent than to cure evil! In the Familistère the course is not to wait until the repose of the laborer is disturbed by troublesome insects; their invasion is prevented by sanitary means employed in view of the general health. Results show that epidemic and contagious diseases are less accessible to the Familistère than to city dwellings.

When man is living in harmony with nature's laws, everything obeys his will, and the good he desires always results from his labor. On the contrary, while men persist in error, evil is permanent around them, and labor brings but bitter fruits.

By unmistakable signs we may know that general and uniform ventilation of homes is in accord with natural laws, since it responds to the various needs of the human being and permits him to institute general measures to guarantee his own wealth and that of his kind; while in isolation the family seeks in vain to ward off evils coming from outside.

XIII. WATER, SPRINGS, AND WELLS. CONSUMPTION OF WATER.

Water plays a no less important part than air in the material condition of man; and its intelligent use contributes inestimably to his comfort and health. In the Familistère care has been taken to make water a blessing to everyone and easy of access to all.

Neither the mother nor the child is obliged to fetch water from the wells in the street, nor to wearily tug it up-stairs in the ordinary way. Water is raised from the depths of the ground to all the stories of the Palace, where the people find it in abundance, fresh and pure at all times.

Among the many advantages that the Familistère offers its inhabitants, that of cool and pure water is greatly enjoyed, especially during the heat of summer, when it is brought on to the tables in decanters almost icy cold.

The first consideration in the choice of the spring was to secure water exempt from all decomposing organic matter; for the principle of decomposing organic matter is contrary to life and health.

A boring was effected through the alluvion on which the Palace stands, through a calcareous layer, and then through a

bed of clay into the second calcareous layer, from which the potable water is obtained.

The tubing of the wells is constructed to prevent any infiltration from the alluvion. This tubing is of cast iron—not wood, for wood in itself presents the objection of introducing into the water organic matter in decomposition, which should always be avoided.

A small steam-engine placed near the well serves various purposes, but the principal one is to work the pump which raises the water for the Palace.

The water-pipes follow the passages of the cellars, being laid in the trenches for irrigation. This preserves the coolness of the water, and the pipes are easy of access for examination or repair.

In the corners of the interior courts, near the staircases, a vertical tube carries the water even up to reservoirs placed in the garrets. Particular branches supply the water-closets and other places where frequent use of water is necessary. On each floor faucets supply the population, for household and cleaning purposes, for the interior cleanliness of the Palace is preserved with care.

The average daily consumption of water is twenty litres a day for each person (between five and six gallons). If we compare this quantity with the amount used in the ordinary laborer's household, where the woman, obliged to bring it from a distance and carry it up-stairs, uses it of course sparingly, while it gets stale in vessels little adapted to keeping it, we shall see what a beneficent influence the abundant consumption of the pure and wholesome water of the Familistère must exercise upon the health. No doubt, seventeen thousand litres out of the twenty thousand that daily enter the apartments of the Palace, go out through the drains to the river, carrying the causes that in other places engender the bad odors and the unhealthfulness of the houses of the poor.

XIV. WATER. RESERVOIRS AND IRRIGATION.

The unitary home permits, as we have seen, a lavish use of water, impossible in the isolation of the working masses in the city or country. But the lavish use of this pure water in the household is not the only way it benefits the inhabitant of the Familistère.

We have described, when speaking of ventilation, how the air is introduced into the interior courts; we shall now see how water serves to cool them during the heat of summer.

At the top of the edifice, fifty feet above the ground, there are placed permanent reservoirs for the water. In the centre of each court, and under the ground, there is an opening into the principal conduit, stopped with a cock in such a way that by the simple pressure of the water in the reservoirs, a fountain is produced which throws the water in every direction to the fourth story. This is a powerful auxiliary to ventilation. It cools the atmosphere, waters the courts, and carries a sense of comfort into all the homes of the Familistère.

In the homes of the poor, on the contrary, water is used sparingly and ignorantly, and this is one of the thousand causes of the ills they suffer.

Inasmuch as it is difficult for each family, abandoned to its own resources, to enjoy the advantages and the comforts that water affords, so is it easy, under the reign of united interests that the unitary home develops, to find means for making this element contribute to the pleasure and well-being of all. Such means are largely practised in the Social Palace.

XV. WATER. WASH-HOUSES AND LAUNDRIES.

Thus far we have considered the water-supply of the Familistère only in its relations to alimentary and domestic purposes; it now remains to examine its uses, exterior and interior, in its relations to hygiene and cleanliness.

Cleanliness and obedience to the laws of health, are among the first needs that man experiences when he commences to improve his condition in life. Therefore architectural reform should put the means to satisfy these needs within reach of all.

We have first to utilize carefully the hot water of the manufactory, which, by grave negligence, is generally allowed to run off from the establishment and be wasted; and yet it is very easy in manufacturing centres to make this hot water serve a useful purpose instead of being wasted in gutters, while the laborer's family is obliged to spend a part of his wages to buy fuel to heat water for necessary washing, or else dispense with clean linen. This is often the alternative; and the laborer's

family is too often deprived also of the baths necessary for the cleanliness of the body.*

In the Social Palace everything is made to serve some useful end for the Progress of Life. The hot water from the machines is used for baths, for the washing of linen, and for watering the garden, cast iron draining-pipes conduct this water where it is to be of service.

In a special establishment near the Palace, the hot water from the industrial workshops is collected to serve the purposes of bleaching and washing.

Nothing is more pernicious to the health than those constant washings in the laborer's lodgings. Not only are the exhalations of the dirty linen inhaled into the lungs, but what is more serious, the dirty water sinking into the boards of the floor or between the tiles, slowly rises, night and day, in vapors exceedingly injurious to the health.

The lodging converted into a wash-house wears the most repulsive aspect, and the family find themselves in a permanent state of discomfort.

In the Social Palace the laborer must have no motives for getting away from his home; this must be a place of quiet, of pleasure and repose; it must be a habitable place, divested of all things incommoding and disagreeable; therefore the bleaching and washing must be performed outside, in its own place, where each one finds the hot water tubs and other apparatus proper for the work. The Familistère has its *model laundry*, where all the inhabitants find a place for their linen.

By the simple effect of a natural declivity, the hot water from the steam-engines is conveyed into sixty tubs in the laundry, through tubes furnished with faucets, where the different families wash their linen whenever they please. Basins or tubs constructed with cement contain warm water constantly renewed for the rinsing; wringers extract the water without twisting or injuring the clothes; which are carried out by machinery to dry, either under cover or in the open

* Nothing is more clearly demonstrated by modern science than that the free use of water on the skin is of prime importance to health. The experience of those who have made daily bathing a habit proves it indispensable to cheerfulness, self-command, dignity, no less than to beauty and personal comfort; and yet, abominable reflection! we have not yet become sufficiently civilized to use water freely. Not one house in a thousand, probably, designed for the "people," has a bathing-room; nor are there adequate facilities anywhere for the free use of the free blessing—water.—Tr.

air, as soon as they are washed. Such are the principal arrangements instituted in the Familistère for the cleanliness of clothing.

XVI. WATER. SHOWER AND SWIMMING BATHS.

There are bathing-rooms in the Familistère in two different places; the first are on the lower floor and are warmed by the steam of the machine that forces the water throughout the building. This steam, passing through a coil of pipe, heats the water in a reservoir that constantly supplies warm water for baths and for general uses to all the people.

With this hot water and the reservoirs of cold water at the top of the Palace, there may be combined in connection with the warm baths, all the resources for hydropathic treatment. Shower-baths and *douches* of great force are easily obtained.

The other bath-rooms are in the building where the laundries are, and the hot water is supplied from the manufactory. This water also supplies a swimming-bath over fifty-four yards square. Here the people can bathe together at all hours of the day. The bottom of this bath is of wood, and is so constructed that it can be let down over eight feet or brought to the surface, so that the bathers may have the depth of water they desire. This is very convenient for groups of children of different ages, and for people who do not know how to swim.

In constructing the various water conveniences of the Social Palace, advantage has been taken of natural declivities, so that no expense is occasioned except the first outlay. The waters, after being used, serve to water the gardens, and they might enrich a considerably greater amount of land if the present system of parcelling it out did not form an obstacle to the intelligent cultivation which modern progress demands.

For the same reason the liquid manures of the Palace are in part lost, when it would be so easy to combine them in the cultivation of the land, and thus create new wealth for the population.

XVII. LIGHT. SYMBOL OF PROGRESS.

The use that man makes of light in his material surroundings, is an index of his moral progress. This idea has been embodied in metaphor by all nations and peoples; the light

of intelligence, the light of science, the light of truth, the brightness of thought, of style, etc. ; and by contrast : the darkness of ignorance, the blackness of crime, of evil, of prejudice, of falsehood, error, etc. We may affirm that all improvement in the use of fire and light corresponds, among any people, to their progress in intellectual, moral, or social ideas.

The study of the architecture of different epochs affords proof of this. During the barbarism of the Middle Ages, not only are the cabins of the serf and the peasant deprived of windows, but the castle itself, though built with a certain luxury of hewn stones, had only loop-holes, and narrow openings which let into the rooms a light as sombre as the spirit of feudalism itself.

But without going so far back into history, what is the state of ideas in the *three hundred thousand* thatched cabins in France to-day, which have only a door for opening ! The tax could not count one or two little squares of glass set in the thickness of the clay walls, and through which scarcely light enough penetrated to permit the inhabitants to move about.

Again, the *eighteen hundred thousand* houses that have only two openings, a door and a casement window ! These are the refuges of ignorance, because they are the refuges of poverty.

Again, the *fifteen hundred thousand* houses that have only three openings : a door and two casements. Have you considered, sentimental admirers of thatched cots and little country houses, how much ignorance and pettiness of thought these miserable dwellings enclose ; these cottages, with high casements and low casements, old and battered, with their panes of all dimensions like the casements themselves ? Though they are qualified as openings, the windows are often fixed in the walls and are never opened, and the pure air, even in the warm season, cannot enter to vivify and make wholesome these hovels where a nauseous atmosphere exists perennially.

It is folly to go into ecstasies over exceptions. The picture that I have painted is unfortunately the too general rule. This condition degenerates men and gives us the atrophied bodies and minds in which intelligence is proportioned to the light that enters their dwellings.

Such is the state of France to-day ; one of the most civilized countries of the earth, that out of nearly seven and a half millions of houses, more than *four millions five hundred thousand* have less than five openings, and are but cabins and thatched cottages in which live nearly two-thirds of the population !

If it is difficult for those who have not thought much upon this grave question, to fully comprehend the importance of the happy evolution that would be accomplished by the Social Palace, in replacing the village denuded of all resources, they can at least understand that the transformation would effect a radical change in the way of progress ; a change for the better that no other social conception can equal.

XVIII. DAYLIGHT.

In the Social Palace the light enters broadly everywhere. There are no dark closets, no sombre passages. Light and space are the first conditions of cleanliness and health ; therefore all is largely lighted, as it is largely provided with air and water.

The height of the rooms, the size of the windows, the width of the staircases, the space devoted to water-closets and other places for common use, the great size of the courts, the gardens and promenades surrounding the palace—all aid in giving free access everywhere to light and air.

It is most important to understand how necessary it is in the foundation of the Social Palace to have no half-lighted corners. Space, wisely managed, is a powerful auxiliary to light, and light discloses any evidence of uncleanness. For this reason space and light are the first stimulants to neatness and healthfulness of the home, at the same time that it contributes to the health of the community.

In institutions of common use, space for liberty of movement is most important ; and the tendency to scrimping in such cases is a thing that must be fought against from the beginning of the building of social edifices.

In the isolated home the individual is limited by his resources in what he constructs for his personal use ; but the deprivations that each one imposes upon himself privately, according to his temperament and his character, cannot be admitted where masses are concerned. In the Social Palace everything destined for common usage should be broadly conceived and generously provided for.

Between associates things cannot be made with a single view to private use : on the contrary, they are studied by the association in view of the needs of all. The same apartments must serve the poor or the rich according to circumstances ; that is to say, the apartments must be susceptible of being ar-

ranged to meet the needs and the means of those who rent them.

This is why, in the Familistère, all the rooms on the same floor have the same height, the same casements, and the same abundant light. The Social Palace must not be parsimonious in distributing the free gifts of nature ; and light is one of these gifts.

XIX. LIGHTING AT NIGHT.

The well-ordered arrangement of the Social Palace not only adapts it to being well lighted by day but also by night. It is by a happy conception in its construction that all parts of it can be lighted by the convenient and economical means of gas. A single burner in each court is sufficient to light the courts, the stairs, the galleries, and the entrances to all the suites of apartments, so that anyone in the darkest night can see to walk all about. The gas lights the water-closets and public places all night, so that they may be used without fear.

The system of galleries or balconies for each floor, so satisfactory to the inhabitants as a means of general circulation between the suites of apartments, has the further advantage of permitting the whole building to be lighted with facility and economy. Thanks to this arrangement three gas-burners are sufficient to light the entrance to the homes of twelve or fifteen hundred persons. On Sunday three or four burners are lighted in each court, and on holidays and receptions sixteen burners furnish a brilliant lighting.

These burners are placed around the first or lower gallery, the tubes extending six feet over the balconies above the courts. In this way shadows are avoided, the light radiating in every direction and being reflected from wall to wall up to the glass roofs of the courts.

Those who have never seen anything but the splendors of civilization may wonder that I attach so much importance to a few gas-burners lighting a whole new community, when these gas-burners are multiplied in profusion in the great cities, and give floods of light ; but it must be remembered that the lighting of the Familistère, as here described, despite its economy, is certainly superior for the inhabitant to the lighting of the best streets of Paris ; and there, indeed, if the streets are well lighted the stairs and interior passages of the houses are lighted at the expense of the tenants, and only

those in easy circumstances can afford this. The laboring classes grope their way through dark stairs and entries.

In order to fully understand the merit of the lighting in the new community, one should have travelled in a dark winter night in the muddy streets of the village, through which no one can stir outside the door without a lantern in the hand.

In accordance with the principle that all places devoted to the use of the people should be generously lighted, gas is employed everywhere where the associates meet ; as, for example, the shops, the halls for reunion, for little children, the schools, the theatre, the conference hall, etc.

As to the interior of the homes, respect for individual liberty leaves everyone free to use whatever light he pleases ; but it will be easily seen that as he enjoys outside of his rooms the bright illumination of gas, he is not contented with the kind of light used in the four millions of houses in France where the sun itself scarcely penetrates. In the country, in fact, lighting is about three thousand years behind the time. The resin candle is used, or the antique lamp, with its bunchy snuff on the end of the wick filling the atmosphere with smoke. The miserable light this affords offers no inducement to work or to read. Reading, therefore, is a rare thing in our country places. The dim lamp hangs before the chimney, scarcely permitting the inmates to recognize each other a few steps distant.

Thus the peasants pass their evenings, dull and spiritless, and deprived of all means of improving their condition.

In the Familistère stearine candles and the most improved lamps are used. Around the table the family and friends find ample light for their occupations during the winter evenings. Reading has become a custom, and the books of the best authors are supplied by the library of the Familistère.

We have stated that progress in the use of light keeps pace with the progress of intelligence. The best lighted cities are those most advanced in civilization. We may conclude, then, that if the darkness in which our country people live corresponds to the ignorance that impedes their progress, a contrary effect should be produced under the influence of the light that abounds night and day in the Familistère.

The full light throughout the courts, the stairs, the galleries of the Social Palace, is the sign of the intellectual and moral progress that is to give birth to the new social light of the world.

XX. ORDER AND QUIET.

Man owes himself to movement and active life for the needs of his existence ; but after the deafening noise of the machinery of the workshop and the manufactory, after the fatigues of labor, he has a right to quiet and rest. After assiduous application of mind and body he needs the recreations and pleasures to be found in the sympathetic society of his kind ; and for this reason the Social Palace should make the home and its dependencies instruments of domestic enjoyment, and nothing should be allowed there to prevent the attainment of this enjoyment.

It could not have occurred to the architect of the palace, nor to the associates, to place a blacksmith in the building striking on his anvil twelve hours a day, and deafening the whole quarter with the noise of his shop, as many artisans do among the dwellings of our cities. The Social Palace is devoted to the comfort of its people, and not to functions which would compromise this comfort. All discordant or disagreeable sounds—everything that unpleasantly affects the senses—are banished to special workshops at some distance from the palace. The halls for public gathering, lectures, noisy amusements, etc., should be at proper distance from the living apartments, which should preserve that order and quiet necessary to the well-being of the family.

XXI. PERSONAL SECURITY.

The home is not simply a shelter from inclement weather and other exterior causes which may be injurious to health, but it is above all the theatre of the intimate relations of life, of friendly and familiar reunions.

The home is a sanctuary where man takes refuge after his hours of toil, and where, with his loved ones, he may enjoy that quiet and rest indispensable to life.

The security that the home affords contributes greatly to man's happiness. In olden times the feudal castle had its moats and drawbridges, and still we see homes surrounded by walls with iron gates ; and in the country the security of the home is maintained by the insupportable nuisance of the barking of house-dogs.

In the Familistère quiet is the companion of security—the precautions of the countryman are not necessary for the members of the Familistère Association—their confidence is so great

that the greater part of them sleep tranquilly without locks or bolts. The Familistère is open night and day on every story from the cellar to the attics ; yet all the inhabitants are at their ease and confident of the safety of their home. The Familistère itself is in fact its own guardian. No unusual act could take place in the calm of the night, in any part of the edifice, without causing a reverberation in the immense vault of the glass roof ; and thus, though the Familistère offers security to its inhabitants, it offers none to evil-doers.

The palace being lighted all night in every part, the galleries particularly are visible from the interior of the apartments ; and no movement in the courts of the palace could hide itself from the hundreds of windows from which it could be perceived. Misdeeds are therefore very rare and of slight importance ; and if the inhabitants of the Familistère suffer little from outside persons, so much the stronger is their motive for the preservation of order and peace among themselves, and so much more severe are they upon any of their own members who would disturb that order and peace.

Precautions against fire are not neglected. Every hour, after the people are asleep, a night watchman "goes the rounds" from cellar to garret ; and a corps of forty firemen, chosen from among those most competent for the service, well-organized and lodging in the palace, can be summoned to the pumps at the first signal ; the hydrants on every floor furnish water freely for any place it might be needed.

This fire company in their uniform, on festival and reunion days, take charge of the interior order and the care of the edifice ; and they always accept gladly the task of giving help in every difficult and unforeseen circumstance.

That the concentration of a people united by social ties is a source of grand mutual security, the Familistère forms a striking example in facts relating to childhood. Pupils are confided to the care and instruction of school-masters and school-mistresses, guardians and nurses ; but in hours of recreation, when three hundred children are playing and frolicking in the paths of the garden and on the promenades along the banks of the River Oise, which winds around the palace at some distance, there would seem to be considerable risk. In fact it has happened that some have fallen into the river ; but thanks to the concentration of the population of the Familistère, no child has yet been drowned. Such accident always having had witnesses, the cry for help has always been answered in time. There has indeed never been any illness even resulting from such accident.

XXII. REMARKS.

Those who have followed the social and philosophical thought of this work will have remarked that the method has been to follow the order of the wants of the human being. Nevertheless this would have been easier to follow if the complete study of the faculties of man (which we reserve for another volume) had preceded that of his wants, with which we are specially concerned here. However this may be, in this exposé of the basis of the idea of the Social Palace, its organization develops before us in the order of the natural wants of man.

Shelter, clothing, temperature, and the easy and convenient means of circulation, satisfy the first wants of the senses, the wants of the exterior of the body—those of *touch*.

The provisioning and the culinary preparation satisfy the wants of alimentation or nourishment—those of *taste*. The indispensable complement of these needs is pure water.

By the hygienic use of water and the purity of the atmosphere, the sense of smell is in a state to enjoy the perfumes of the gardens and of the flowers and aromatic plants that constantly grace the windows of the Familistère.

The Familistère satisfies the wants of the sense of *sight* by the elegance of its construction, by the breadth and extent of its proportions, by its general neatness, and by its broad reception of light and everything that delights the eye.

Hearing, this intermediate sense of another order, receives its gratification from the quiet and security in the midst of movement and life. The Familistère, having for its first function the creation of happiness for families, assures peace and tranquillity, the necessary elements of this happiness. At the palace the calm of the home is only broken by the playing of children and by the intercourse of the members among themselves.*

The Familistère then presents the element of life, united and adapted to the wants of man. Everywhere we see matter in its direct relations with the needs of the individual taking the best direction to assure the good of all, and by that the progress of life.

* And by the fine music of the choral society and the excellent orchestra of the Familistère.—TR.

XXIII. OBJECTIONS.

Thus far we have only considered the Social Palace from the material side—the side that relates to the satisfaction of our physical wants. We have not even considered the capital invested in the enterprise nor the study of the architect in constructing it. All that being done, we have had only to describe the facts realized ; but we will add that this realization is due only to the co-operation of labor, which is the best proof of its importance and of what it can do for the happiness of man.

And yet the Familistère is nothing but a private enterprise, subject to the will of one man. It is only a vast edifice which its owner can dispose of as he sees fit. This is an objection which may be presented by those more willing to criticize than to study the solution of the future.*

We reply to these : create for the people the instrument to secure their welfare, and you will have created the instrument of their power and their emancipation.

The capitalist who takes this part becomes the steward of the masses ; he is the foreseeing and intelligent agent of the welfare of all ; he fills the office that associated laborers would themselves give to the management of their own capital, if they had become, by participation in the profits of industry, owners of a part of the capital, and especially if they had acquired that knowledge of their true interests which would make them see that there is no salvation for them except in the association of all the social resources of rich and poor.

But before the masses comprehend, the idea must be expressed in practice by facts. Before the earth could be covered with railroads, the rail and the locomotive had to be invented ; but who to-day can hinder the rail and the locomotive from being instruments of progress and civilization ? It will be the same with the Social Palace. The laborious development of the Familistère will serve as good seed in the field of architectural reform, and the future will make fruitful this germ of social renovation.

Besides the objection we have just answered, which arises from an impatience with social progress easy to understand, there are others of a different order, arising from prejudices belonging to the possession of wealth. We are asked :

* The Association of the Familistère was not incorporated until 1880. See Preface to this volume.—Tr.

"How can wealth be invested in the construction of such an edifice? It can neither be divided nor shared. What can the heirs do with it?

Unhappy heirs! They are the only thing that people think of. How sad it must be that they cannot completely rob the laborers of the use of the palace that they have helped to build by their labor! Poor heirs! They cannot make lots and portions of the Social Palace; they can only share among them its value if they find an amateur who consents to leave the palace to the use to which it is consecrated; for it can only be used to lodge families.

Such is the nature of the objection to the Familistère, made by those who have no conception of property, except through the prejudices and sophisms of law and custom. It will be different when property depends upon value and not upon immovable things; and above all when labor is recognized in our codes by the side of property.

Meanwhile, let us remark that the Social Palace is destined to become the joint stock property of its inhabitants, and we will go on with our study of the Familistère as a practical fact of the present, as a fact henceforth applicable to the amelioration of the fate of the masses, and especially to the industrial population; but let us also try to see in the Familistère the application of the principles necessary to the *social solutions* of the future.

XXIV. OPPOSITIONS AND OBSTACLES.

The critics of the kind I have just cited do not hinder a work from advancing; but there are others more redoubtable, without being more justifiable. These are persons whose interests take alarm at the foundation of such an institution as the Familistère.

I expected the wildest estimations of my work; objections of every kind; the most bitter criticisms; but I did not believe that I should have so much to fear from the power of conflicting interests, from the jealousy, envy, and meanness of men.

The sole ambition of the Familistère was to benefit the laboring classes; but for all that, it was no sooner in existence than it became the object of the most furious rivalries and jealousies. The Familistère provided for the wants of working-men—created for them an easy and economical life; but what signified a work undertaken for the benefit of the

laborer to those who speculate in his poverty? They would have carried the founder of the Familistère in triumph, had he used the profits of industry for his own personal aggrandizement; but he was a wretch from the day he conceived the idea of employing his fortune for the good of others—that is to say, in an enterprise in which they saw a competition with traders and proprietors of the locality, by a manufacturer who, according to the public, wished to take their business from them and monopolize everything.

The rents of houses would fall—offence to the interests of proprietors!

Bread, meat, vegetables, groceries, beverages, boots and shoes, dry goods, etc.—the Familistère sold all these—offence against all the traders!

The Familistère would overshadow by its mass and its importance the edifices of the city of Guise which the administration was so proud of having built—new subject of envy which the zealots of power did not fail to satisfy before the administration by insidious calumnies of me.

Among the people about me there were none except those of narrow views of economy, with a passion for the hoarding of money and for property in land. Soon the Familistère began to be considered as a mad enterprise, and became the subject of bitter criticisms at home, which my enemies made the most of in their efforts to injure me. The malignity of the public, over-excited by many causes, began to sow the seeds of disunion among my people and turn against me those on whose affection I had most relied.

From that time the ruin of the Familistère and its founder became the object of the infuriate zeal of men debased by the shame of political servility. Thanks to the bitter jealousies of which I was the victim, they held in their hands the means to excite against me—through the treacherous weapons peculiar to seasons of moral and political corruption—the most serious opposition. It was in the midst of the most grievous difficulties, and of lawsuits constantly renewed, that, by the aid of my only son, I founded and organized the Familistère.

The Familistère and its founder, calumniated, accused, pursued by the hate of men called well-intentioned, could not fail to suffer. In the absence of principles which are the foundation of true justice and true right, legislation imposes upon the magistrate, above all things, the respect of traditions. It is the misfortune of reformers who, in order to aid the progress of mankind, put themselves in opposition to habits

and prejudices rooted in the past, to incur from all sides the persecution of their contemporaries.

To-day, by the influence of those who sought to effect my ruin, though without being able to accomplish it, the Familistère is obliged by the law to give over to the greed of the officers of the law, and to the squandering of those who have done nothing to aid on my work, the money which should return to those who have created it.

This fact stated, we will leave the sad account to more favorable times, while we describe what has been accomplished at the Familistère in the narrow limits to which my movements have been confined.

XXV. ASSOCIATION PREVENTED.

I shall pass rapidly over the interesting relations of labor and capital in the Familistère, because I cannot show in practice the principles treated in the eighth, sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of this volume. Nevertheless the administrative and financial mechanism is completely organized (from the stand-point of the practice of the equitable distribution of the products of labor) in the Familistère and in its manufactory, considered as one and indivisible.

According to the principles of distribution developed in chapter seventeenth, every employé and workman would have received an average of 150 francs upon every 1,000 francs of wages, or fifteen per cent. Under these circumstances capital would have received six per cent. interest and a dividend of fifteen per cent. on the amount of its interests as the equivalent of that which would have been paid to labor.

If the dividend thus accruing to labor had been accorded to it, and if this dividend had been converted into stock based upon the workman's palace and the manufactory where they are employed, all, to-day, would have been stockholders and capitalists and at the same time associated laborers, and the amount of this stock, held by different individuals, would have varied from a thousand to ten thousand francs according to the amount of wages or salary that each had received.

But capital, in elevating simple laborers to the rank of capitalists and industrial associates, would have given an example to France too useful and too noble to be forgiven.

Yet that would have been better for social morality than to see officers of the law rubbing their hands in the hope of tak-

ing their unjust share of a fortune that they ravish from honest labor to put it in the hands of cupidity for miserable ends. The division sought for by all these vampires means the future lessening, if not the ruin, of the industry that I have myself wholly created ; while the association of all the different interests which have aided me in the organization of this industry would have been its perpetuation in the midst of a continuous prosperity for the benefit of all the laborers.

This would have been so if the law governing property had been founded upon the true principles of right ; if the legislator, instead of delivering industry and all the wealth of society to the vicissitudes and divisions of the succession, had risen to the comprehension that *matter* is made for *all men* ; and that all the wealth accruing to society, being due to the collectivity of labor, should not be immovably fixed in a few hands.

Then the law, leaving each the value of his fortune mobilized in titles, would at least preserve intact the instrument of labor and of property in the hands of the laborer, to pursue indefinitely the production of wealth for the benefit of all.

But the law is still only the tradition of past servitude and feudality, when for the holders of wealth the land and material things were everything, and man nothing. Thus the rights of labor are still almost entirely ignored, in order to leave to the possessors of material things the greater part of the disposable resources due to labor, and even the power to destroy the instrument of production, made or improved by the laborer.

Against these old traditions or precedents and the iniquity that results, the spirit of modern progress slowly rises ; and, taking its inspiration from justice, seeks a method for according to labor its legitimate part without robbing property of that which belongs to it.

It is to the social evolution imminent in European civilizations that we shall owe the incorporation of these rights in the code of nations through the necessary revision of the laws.

XXVI. THE WAY OF EMANCIPATION.

Despite the absence of the association of labor and capital, that which should be the principal feature of my work, the Familistère has already accomplished grand results, and amid difficulties that still further demonstrate how practical the en-

terprise is, and how imperative an expression of the demands of modern industry and of the social tendencies of the age.

One result of the situation forced upon the Familistère, is to show that its working does not depend upon the absolute application of the principles from which it results, and that it can adapt itself to all the temporary demands necessitated by the gradual change from the present state of industry to co-operative or social industry.

The Social Palace may be instituted, by our industrial system, without any modification. It is an enterprise, if you please, entirely outside of all preconceived ideas of the distribution of the products of present labor—only a new and generously conceived idea of the labor of the past ; or a new enterprise wherein capital is employed intelligently for the welfare of humanity.

The first result of the Social Palace, leaving aside all modification of the industrial system, is to ameliorate the condition of the laborer ; to create for the benefit of the masses a sum of advantages which will lighten the hardships of toil, and meanwhile, by the education of the young, to prepare for the social regeneration of the rising population.

The Social Palace, then, may be regarded as a simple architectural reform in the dwelling ; but yet it loans itself to every amelioration, to all modifications to be introduced into the industrial system ; and it facilitates participation and association in whatever degree consented to.

The building of the Social Palace is more independent of reforms in distribution than these reforms are of the presence of the Social Palace ; in fact, the inauguration of equitable distribution, without reforming the habitation, would put new resources in the hands of laborers without proper means to facilitate their wise use ; therefore it is important that means for this wise use be placed at the disposition of working-men. The Social Palace supplies this need.

The first duty of capital at this time is to supply to laborers the material conditions which will help them to the best employment of their wages. This is the preparatory step, not only to the welfare of the masses, but also to the material, moral, and intellectual progress of humanity.

But must society owe this just employment of wealth to a sacrifice ? No. It will pay capital to build palaces for labor that will regenerate the workman's miserable way of living, as it has paid capital to regenerate the means of transportation by building railroads—these new means of travel which benefit all.

XXVII. THE CAPITAL OF THE WORKMAN.

The transition from the individual regime to the societary regime—from antagonism to solidarity—will be effected through applying the resources of labor and wealth to the creation of the proper surroundings to favor this solidarity, and assure the advantages that must result for the laboring-classes.

It is of first importance that society should avoid being led into the way of individual participation of profits, such as is the tendency of the co-operative enterprises which have now attracted the public attention for some years.

The profits of labor should be used in forwarding institutions to benefit all, and not to constitute resources immediately benefiting a few.

It is less, far less, in the direct participation of profits that the means of ameliorating the condition of the working-classes will be found, than in applying these profits to buildings and institutions of common utility, which have the merit in themselves of being elements of prosperity and progress.

The rights of labor are the rights to the advantages of life. The right of participation in the pecuniary profits of labor, over and above wages and the interests of capital, does not take account, but very imperfectly, of the right of the weak to a part of the natural product of the earth, the foundation of their social right, as we have shown heretofore.

The rights of labor are, first of all, collective rights—the rights which demand that the wealth created shall be used for the amelioration of the fate of the people; institutions by which the common good is united to the good of the individual. Such is the mission and the future of new wealth. This will constitute the capital of the laborer.

Modern industry, by the system of wages, has changed the condition of the laborer, and made labor free. The industry of the future, by the system of association, will effect the emancipation of the laborer in securing him the comforts of life and making him a participant in the collective wealth.

This is the noblest and highest task that capital can undertake to-day. It is the true way to social salvation and to fraternity between all classes of society.

It is consistent with principle that the profits of industry should be devoted, in a legitimate measure, to creating conditions for the happiness and social progress of humanity.

Even under the reign of association and participation, it would be the highest wisdom to employ the dividends at first for institutions of common benefit; those having right to shares of the distribution receiving in title the value of their dividends invested for their benefit. In this way the working-classes, living on their wages, would become joint-stockholders in the wealth they would have created, and their rights would extend to everything in the domain where their life was passed.

XXVIII. FINANCIAL PROGRESS.

The Familistère of Guise is the first example of capital resolutely employed, under the management of one person, in uniting all the things necessary to life for a great number of laboring families. It is the first example of an industrial administration concentrating such various operations for the benefit of families, avoiding thus all useless "middle-men," and, at the same time, by economical organization, making secure the capital engaged in the enterprise.

The material and moral results already described will perhaps still appear insufficient in an age like ours, where everything must be expressed by figures.

The Familistère in the eyes of many persons would not be a practical success, unless the financial side shows that the enterprise "pays." Very fortunately it does.

Yet in examining the Familistère, its elegance and strength of construction, and the care bestowed upon the details of the architecture, it will be seen that the idea of revenue was a very secondary thought in the organizing of the enterprise.

The first care of this work was to realize, for the most numerous class, homes which would secure physical and moral advantages; to prove, practically, that to do good is always possible, and much more easy to accomplish than is generally supposed.

In April, 1859, I laid the foundation of the left wing of the Familistère. The roof was on in September, and the building finished in 1860, when some of its population moved in; but the building was not completely occupied till 1861.

The property on which the Familistère is built	France.
cost.....	50,000
The left wing cost.....	300,000
In 1860 I built the first dependencies—bakery, butchery, etc.....	50,000
In 1862 the central part was commenced, and in 1864 finished. It was occupied in 1865, and has cost.....	400,000
In 1866 I built the edifice for the care and education of infants—the nursery and the <i>pouponnat</i> .	
This cost nearly.....	40,000
The schools and the theatre, built in 1869, cost..	125,000
The baths and laundries, built in 1870, cost.....	35,000
<hr/>	
The whole place as it stands.....	1,000,000

The right wing and its dependencies is to be built.*

The adult population of the Familistère being about nine-hundred persons, the cost of the whole establishment, including all the necessary dependencies—shops, kitchens, public halls, halls for the little children, the school and the theatre etc.—was a little over 1,100 francs for each person.

In the present condition of the palace, it comprises 500 chambers, besides the shops on the ground-floor and the dependencies; 400 closets, 386 wardrobes, 24 alcoves, 660 outside doors and windows, and 300 doors and windows in dependent buildings.

To the million of francs invested in the enterprise we must add, for furniture for the different services and for funds necessary to carry on the commercial operations, eighty thousand francs, making one million and eighty thousand francs invested in the Familistère to-day. This increase of capital is very necessary to the management of the different operations of the palace in order to render them profitable and useful.

* The left wing was built soon after 1865, and the fourth palace or quadrangle, at some little distance from the main edifice, was completed.

XXIX. RENTS AND REVENUES.

The Familistère, being mostly rented to laborers, would hardly be profitable if its sole revenue was from the rents.

When the laborer is looking for lodgings he is mostly occupied about the price of the rent; the advantages of the apartments are of secondary consideration, for he *must* regulate his expenses by the amount of his wages, and he does not see at first that the home may offer economical advantages that will enable him to live better on the same wages. He reflects upon the amount he paid for his last place, and one or two francs more a month appears to him a great burden upon his expenses.

Therefore the capital invested in the palace could not be taken into the account in fixing the rents of the apartments. The ordinary rent paid by laborers in the country is from eight to twelve francs a month for two or three rooms (\$1.60 to \$2.40). The Familistère must furnish more commodious and convenient lodgings at the same price, and thus prevent a malevolent competition from making the laborer believe that the Familistère was an institution established to make money out of him.

The laborer then saw that the palace, despite the adverse criticisms of it, was worth at least as much as the old dirty and uncomfortable quarters; and so he decided for the Familistère.

An easy rule served as a basis for deciding the details of the rents. All the suites of rooms are equally convenient for the tenant. Every chamber is provided with a large or small closet, and the walls are all hard-finished. The only difference, then, is the story, and the number of rooms; and therefore the rents were fixed by the square metre for the workman, for the employé in easy circumstances, and indeed for the founder of the Familistère himself, who also had his home there.

Whoever wishes the interior of his apartments richly furnished and decorated can have them so at his own expense.

The rents are fixed by the month as follows: for the ground floor, 26 centimes the square metre (about five cents); the second floor, 29 centimes; for the third, 26; for the fourth, 23; for the cellars, 10; for the garrets, 10.

The façades fronting the city are rented at 2 centimes extra the square metre.

At these prices, the rent of the rooms in the Familistère varies from fourteen to twenty-three centimes a day for each chamber, according to the size and the story.

At these rates the yearly receipts from the rents, including the orchards and gardens, is at present 40,140 fr.

But there is an important chapter of expenses to be deducted from this sum in order to get at the net receipts from the rents. These expenses are as follows :

	Francs.
Direct taxes	1,617
Insurance	379
General expenses of management, keeping the buildings in order, and raising the water	5,240
Gas	1,320
General annual repairs	1,200
Total expenses	9,756

Subtracting these expenses from the gross receipts reduces the profits to 30,384 fr.

This is three per cent on the capital invested in the land and buildings.

We shall find in another chapter 10,000 francs of receipts applied to the sinking-fund that we have not considered in the preceding figures.

It is evident that at the present rates the rents of the Familistère alone but poorly remunerates the capital invested ; but if this capital, taken from the profits of the manufactory, has not made of the Familistère a pure money-making job, it is none the less certain that the investment is a safe one, aside from the fact that in creating new resources for the benefit of the workman it constitutes advantages for the manufactory, the importance of which it would be difficult to measure.

By comparing the rents in the Familistère with those of many manufacturing towns, it will be seen that they are lower almost by one-half than those paid for lodgings that are passable.

For example, a suite of rooms in the Familistère, consisting of half the vestibule, a first room 15 feet 4 inches by 14 feet 8 inches, a store-room 3 feet 11 inches by 4 feet 10 inches, and a second room 13 feet wide by over 15 feet long—or about four hundred square feet of surface—

On the ground floor is rented by the month at	\$1.92
On the second floor at	2.15
On the third floor at	1.92
On the fourth floor at	1.68

And in the same proportion for all the suites of rooms, large or small, according to the number of rooms.

It will be seen, therefore, that it would have been possible to realize five per cent profit on the capital invested from the rents alone, if the object had been to lodge families in easy circumstances instead of those who are poor. For the former the Familistère certainly could realize twice as high a rent on each family, and yet secure them great advantages.

In that case the Familistère might have made from five to six per cent profit on the capital invested from its rents alone, after all expenses of managing and after deducting the sinking-fund.

XXX. INTERIOR SOCIAL RESOURCES.

I have sought to show all along through this book that good is not realized in humanity except by the intelligent use of the material resources which nature has given man. The wants of our affectional, intellectual, and moral nature can no more escape this law than can our physical nature. It is only by the foundation of necessary material institutions, and by their wise direction, that the intellectual and moral, as well as the physical, plane of society is raised.

We have seen that in the Familistère these institutions could not draw their resources from the legally constituted association that I wished to establish between labor and capital; I had, therefore, to seek for means to interest the people in provision and mutuality.

But before commencing the exposé of these means it will be well to show what the Familistère is capable of doing, without any aid except the forces resulting from its interior organization, independent of all relation with the profits of the manufactory, for the Social Palace should have in itself the power to engender resources sufficient to enable it to continue its progressive course.

The Familistère has created other revenues besides those of rents, and this by creating a new function of great utility to its inhabitants; that is to say, by offering in the dependencies of their home all the provisions necessary to life—by the organization of the services of the bakery, butchery, *charcuterie*, milk, cream, cheese and butter supplies, as well as of vegetables, beverages, groceries, dry goods of all kinds, made-up clothing of all kinds, fuel, etc.*

* Recently there has been established another industry for the women and girls especially; that of knit goods, hosiery, etc.—Tr.

In the organization of these commercial operations reside the resources of the Social Palace, considering its interests apart from the iron manufactory in which the members take part.

Thus the Familistère, though not having fully developed its commercial affairs—which have elicited envious criticisms outside—has realized up to this time a sum fully equal to the emoluments and wages of the residents of the palace.

Still, all these commercial services are not equally profitable to the Familistère. Those supplying food have little more than paid their way up to this time. There are two reasons for this: first, the desire to make it easy and inexpensive for the laborer to live, and especially from the difficulty in finding competent persons to manage any business. It is certain that a wiser management would promptly put the restaurant and the sale of meats and vegetables in a way to realize more than they have heretofore done.

The other departments of this service are also susceptible of a sensible augmentation of profits; and this will be effected when the Familistère shall have created for itself a capable *personnel*; for it must be remarked that those who assume these functions are generally taken from among the wives and daughters of the laborers, and a certain time is necessary for learning the details of the service.

Under the present conditions, the commercial operations of the Familistère show the following results:

There has been taken from the products of the sales, to cover the general expenses of lighting all the shops, for the furniture and the wear and tear of material, etc.... 15,000 fr.

Paid in salaries and wages to persons keeping the accounts and selling the goods in the stores and shops 26,000 fr.

The net profit of the operations after deducting all expenses is about 45,000 fr.

From this amount is reserved a sinking-fund for maintaining the Familistère in its original condition.

This reserve is annually 10,000 fr.

Disposable profits..... 35,000 fr.

This sum, added to the rents, secures to the capital a return of six per cent, at least, if it is not satisfied with the profits from the rents; and if we say that the Familistère should receive award from the profits of the manufactory, this 35,000 francs, made out of its commercial operations, is sufficient to

secure the care and education of the children, provide for the formation of a relief-fund, and thus help on all the salutary reforms.

This 35,000 francs is not susceptible of being divided among individuals. It is for the general service, but especially for the weak—those who must have protection. Thus individualism gives place to mutuality and solidarity.

A glance at the working-order of the Familistère will show that to the material advantages of the surroundings and the moral advantages that result, the members draw direct benefit from the functions of the institution, for all these are filled by the members.

It pays in salaries or wages—

	Francs.
To the service of order.....	10,000
To the service of education.....	8,000
To commercial service.....	15,600
To productive services.....	9,600
This is a total of.....	43,200

that seventy persons earn in the administrative service of the Familistère. These seventy are mostly women who fill the functions in various degrees; that is to say, giving regularly portions of their time, from their family duties, to these services for the general good.

XXXI.—PRINCIPLES IN OPERATION.

In Chapter XXVII. we have explained the principles and rules of social charity which should obtain under the societary division of the profits of labor. We have also defined the rights of the disabled, the care due to childhood, and the part due to social progress.

The Familistère not having been able to assume the character of an associative organization,* we can only treat it as a private work.

In describing the present state of its institutions, we shall show what the application of principles can do independent even of the solid bond that the integral association of labor and capital alone can create.

* Readers must bear in mind, as I have before said, that this book was written long before the legal organization of the co-operative association of the Familistère.—Tr.

The thought residing at the foundation of the Familistère did not ignore the law of the application of capital. If it was not possible to give an example of association, and of the participation of the laborer protected by legal forms, capital at least ought to give the results in practice. This is what I sought to do as far as I possibly could.

But in all transitions difficulties have to be overcome and obstacles conquered, and especially where the question is one of social reform people have to be rid of their prejudices in order to prepare the way for the reception of truth.

The many difficulties which my work has encountered, and the obstacles that have retarded its progress, may be useful as showing by comparison what might have been done had I met, instead of infuriated hostility, a ready and devoted sympathy in my work. Yet by the fact of these obstacles I have been restricted to an experiment which can be easily imitated by others. It is an ill wind that blows nobody good.

According to the principles of right, duty, and justice, presented in the course of this book, the management of the Familistère has been somewhat different from that indicated in a preceding chapter, in the establishment of its institutions for social charity.

The Familistère has been considered as being in association with its tenants, not only respecting the revenues from rents, but also in the commercial profits, so that each has had the power to deposit his savings at the office of the palace, receiving in return a title which guarantees him so much per cent on his deposit from the revenues of the rents and from the commercial operations. Thus far the depositors have received an interest or dividend varying from five to six per cent.

According to the theory of distribution established in Chapter XVII., it was the manufactory that was considered as furnishing from its profits the fund for the care and education of children, for maintaining orphans, and for pensions to invalids.

With the prevision fund it is different. Taking into account the precedents already established in industries, as a happy measure to interest working-men in the management and supervision of their material interests, this prevision fund has been founded by the members of the palace.

The assessments for this fund are retained from the wages of each family in order to facilitate the labors of the managing committees.

The importance and the objects of the assessments are left

to the deliberation of councils elected by the members, whether relating to assistance during illness, or to medical service, medicine, invalid furniture, etc.

The industrial establishment intervenes, in a passive manner, recognizing itself as under obligation to add to the mutual fund a sum equal to the amount of the assessments of all the members.

The resources thus produced meet all the wants with a monthly assessment of one franc and a half.

	France.
The monthly amount of these assessments is	900
From the manufactory an equal sum	900
Monthly resources	1,800
Consequently the annual resources are	21,600

With this fund, though less than it should be, much trouble and suffering are avoided among the class for whose benefit it is created.

The advantages of mutuality and solidarity are more easily understood when isolation is exchanged for the unitary home. Under the reign of collective life, where people are no longer bound in a narrow individualism in which each thinks only of himself, and where difficulties and privations are constantly to be met, their interests became greatly modified. Institutions to effect the comfort, the security, and the protection of all are recognized as forwarding the interests of each, and the people are predisposed to support them.

Individual interests are one with the collective interests; dissensions which arise when the public resources are not equally shared no longer occur, and this is why in the Social Palace all the ameliorations that may be instituted for the good of life, benefit all equally, and therefore each member feels disposed to support them.

What, then, must be done in an establishment like the Familistère—when the materials are ready—to give form to the measures that are to be taken? The members must be summoned to deliberate regularly upon the institutions of social charity to be established in view of the eventualities to which the laborer's family is liable. It is thus that such institutions are based upon solid foundations, and the Familistère offers the most marked and unexpected example.

We have seen that the association of capital and labor could not be effected under legal form in the Familistère, giving the members a right in the profits of the manufactory; and that capital, being interested in the foundation of institu-

tions of common prevision, imposed upon the general expenses of the industrial establishment a sum equal to the amount of all the assessments. This sum is paid regularly every month.

To administer and apply this fund the workmen are summoned to elect the necessary committees. These committees divide and subdivide the duties and are as follows :

The committee of administration of the assessments and contributions.

The committee of medical service and assistance.

The committee of pharmacy, nursing and medicaments.

The committee of visitors, whose duty is to see to the state of the sick, inform themselves upon the sanitary condition of the population, etc., etc.

Then there are other committees chosen for any duty which the interests of the population may think best to introduce into practice.

The greatest liberty rules in this matter in order to practise all the good measures revealed by experience.

Thus through the monthly assessment of from one franc to two and a half, according to the choice of the member, and following certain rules, all the families have a right to the visits of the doctor they prefer whenever they deem it necessary ; to a pension varying from one to five francs a day, according to the assessment of the member deprived of his wages by illness ; to sheets and bed-gowns belonging to the medical service and all the clean linen necessary to the patient ; to medicines for all the members of the family when needed ; to the use of bathing-tubs, sitz-baths, foot-baths, close stools, chamber-vases, and all instruments necessary in sickness.

Besides this, the establishment gives a pension of a franc a day to all laborers when ill ; it adopts orphans, who are taken care of in the nursery first, and then when old enough to go to school they are clothed and boarded in some member's family at the expense of the association. The orphan-child thus finds a sure protection under the roof where he was born.

If the advantages enumerated in this chapter have not been lost sight of by the reader, he will doubtless admit that the measures of true, associative insurance established in the Familistère are worthy of imitation.

The advantages belong to the Familistère's organization for mutual protection ; but the member receives also, when ill, two francs a day from the relief-fund of the manufactory.

This is accorded to all workmen, whether living in the Familistère or not. This fund pays out annually about eighteen thousand francs.

XXXII. MEDICAL SERVICE.

We have seen how the Social Palace assures to all its associates medical advantages that could not be had otherwise without great difficulty, nor indeed at all in the same satisfactory way. Where the houses are isolated there is always difficulty in this regard. Does not everyone know how much trouble there is in the country attending the matter of physicians' visits because of the distance, and especially from the necessity which often occurs of having to seek them in neighboring cities or villages.

In country villages, where the houses are scattered, what is for the interest of the centre is against the interests of the extremities, and what is for the benefit of the extremities is less so for the centre. Each one wants everything near to him, and so the antagonism of interests opposes the establishment of necessary institutions.

In the Social Palace, as we have seen, the individual interest is the common interest. The people associate for their medical services as for their other needs, with the certainty that the advantages will be equal for all. The Familistère has two physicians and a midwife always in readiness for their duties. These have each their letter-box in the office of medical service and pharmacy. Any member has only to put the number of his apartments in either of these boxes when he wishes the services of the physician or midwife.

This office contains the things most indispensable in pharmacy; apparatus for dressing wounds in pressing cases; portable bathing-tubs of all kinds; sheets, shirts, and instruments and utensils rarely found among the household goods of the laborer.

This hall also contains, to the great advantage of lying-in women and infants, breast-pumps, nipple-shields, cradles, nursing-bottles, etc. These simple measures of precaution may prevent much suffering that want of care or ignorance often causes to young mothers among the poor.

Everything that concerns the health and the nursing of the sick—preventive agents, physicians, and medicines—is provided and paid for by the entire association, and therefore no

one is obliged to deny himself anything necessary to the recovery of health.

No one suffers for the want of medical aid. Every day the physicians find notices in their letter-boxes indicating that their presence is required, and nursing and remedies are immediately prescribed.

Neglect in misfortune is not possible in the Familistère; the least suffering is at once known, taken note of, and through honor of doing good, as well as from the sentiment of charity, care and assistance are never wanting to anyone.

Aiding the relatives of the sick, the committees of prevision are always on duty to see that assistance is prompt and medicines properly given.

XXXIII. INTEGRAL EDUCATION.

Thus far we have seen how the Social Palace answers the primordial laws of life. We have rapidly shown how it renders food, lodging, clothing, cleanliness, and health more attainable; how it contributes to the care of the body; develops the exercise of good physical habits; realizes the harmonious use of the human organism; how it protects the health and treats disease; how its widows and orphans find in the association securities for the future—in a word, how the Social Palace assures the welfare of all.

But the mission of the Familistère is not simply the fulfilment of the law of the preservation and support of human life; it must also meet the obligations of the law of the development and progress of life. To physical training it should add intellectual and moral education.

It belongs to the Social Palace to fill the voids that the institutions of society at present leave in the development of natural aptitudes; to be for the development of the mind what it is for the development of the physical well-being.

But before describing the education of the various capacities of children, we must examine the influence that the Familistère exerts generally upon its population. It is an influence which, acting at every moment, modifies little by little the bad habits brought from outside, and in every case soon changes radically the external manifestations of the individual and of the family.

If the families of laborers, accustomed to little, isolated houses, think it costs little to let their children run barefoot

in the streets, covered with mud and dirty rags, their only garment a shirt, as is often the case, these same families when they arrive at the Familistère feel, after a short contact with the population, the necessity of a change of habits and conditions. It causes a blush of shame for them to see their ragged children among the three hundred pupils of the Familistère assembled in the courts of the palace at each opening of school. They see what a blot their little ones make on this assemblage of properly dressed, well-washed, and tidy children ; and they make haste to efface the aspect of poverty. The Sunday clothes are often put on the children to wear in school, and new ones bought for holidays ; and the pleasure that the parents find in seeing their children tidily dressed, like the others, compensates for the sacrifice it may cost.

Soon the parents experience the same sentiment on their own account that they did in regard to their children, and thus life is ameliorated by degrees, the example around them constantly soliciting a better use of the resources of the family.

In the Familistère there is no mud or filth of any description, and the child therefore has no cause for soiling his clothes at play. Cleanliness soon becomes the rule with him as dirt was formerly. In the Social Palace there are none of those sordid rags that dishonor the human form. All the inhabitants are well clothed, as all are well nourished ; and yet how much misery the Familistère has sheltered !

We shall present here not so much the philosophical theory of education as the practical conditions for its application. We care little for the pretentious theories of education and training if they can only apply, like those of Rousseau, to the millionth part of the human race.

The thing to discover is democratic education—the *education of all the children of the people* ; it is the integral culture of the human mind through the integral culture of the entire race ; the education, in fine, that shall conduct all to a useful and productive life.

Many conditions are necessary to attain this end ; the first thing is to create the methods of management and instruction, and then to apply them. In methods there has been definite progress made in modern society through the researches of persons devoted to the education of children ; but the difficulties in the way of applying these methods will prevent their becoming general while the present family system continues.

Whatever may be done, it will be difficult to make the con-

ditions of education equal for all in the present isolated state of families.

Education will be imperfect while the father and the mother are the only ones to watch over the interests of their children, and while they are permitted to starve their minds, as they do sometimes their bodies, though indeed in this case it is not their fault.

Society cannot remedy the sad mistakes of the past, except by exercising its right of protection over childhood, and by uniting the obligations which alone can secure its own progress.

In this, as in all human things, the results to be obtained depend upon the perfection and progress of material conditions. In order that children should be well instructed, there must be schools adequate in all respects. The education of the people depends upon this condition. The tendency to-day is toward establishing schools in every village; but after the schools are ready will it not be difficult to bring all the children together regularly every day when some of them reside two or three miles away? Something more than the common school would be necessary. There would have to be a gratuitous boarding-school in each country town.

Promptness and regularity in attendance is of prime importance in all teaching. All methods fail without this. Something more than the school in each community is necessary; there must be a programme of studies; methods of study, and pupils and teachers determined to have the methods applied.

How many reforms must be effected before such a result can be obtained? To-day, in the greater number of our villages, the teacher, in order to live, must be all at once—teacher of the school, chorister in the church, secretary to the mayor, land-surveyor, etc. It is easy to understand how little he cares whether the pupils are in school or not during his absence. If they are playing the vagabond in the streets, he knows at least that they are not turning the school-room topsy-turvy while he is away. Generally his wife looks after the pupils at such times—not to hear the lessons, but to keep them still. What is the result? A more serious difficulty. In most cases it is an excuse for cooking, washing, scrubbing, in the school-room even.

In such conditions how difficult for children to get their education, and how certainly their idleness must lead to disorder and truancy. Still, all that is necessary is a government friendly to the people, in order to abolish a condition of public instruction which is a disgrace to France.

'But no administration can place the school in the same proximity to all families; and consequently it is not possible for administrative measures to make instruction equally attainable by all the children in our rural communities. Gratuitous, compulsory education cannot place all the families of a village on the same footing of equality, neither in regard to the advantages offered nor to the fines imposed.

This is not the case in the Social Palace. All the institutions are organized so as to offer equal advantages to all the families. The school-rooms are a dependence of the palace. In the palace even the laborer finds nurses for his children, attendants, governesses, preceptors, school-masters, and school-mistresses; vast school-rooms, well aired, lighted, and warmed—all the equivalents by which wealth surrounds itself at great expense.

These advantages for the care and education of childhood cannot be realized in the village, nor in the city even; at least, not without founding a college or public boarding-school comprising the *creche*, or nursery and kindergarten, with all its appointments and classes for every age, and all that is necessary to bring up and educate children with care, at the expense of the community, aided by the State.

And how many pretended friends of the people would find such an idea impracticable!

Let us return to the Familistère, which is not a project, but a fact.

Labor should satisfy not only physical needs, but also those of the heart and of the mind. Starting there and proceeding according to the principles of life previously stated, education in the Familistère should be an object of special attention, and placed in the rank of higher duties in the practice of which the insufficient resources of the family should be completed.

In truth, education in the Familistère is understood in its broadest sense. Special edifices have been built for each degree of instruction, and the best appointments and the most intelligent methods have been brought to aid the regular development of the child, physically as well as morally.

In the Familistère education is organized in seven divisions, each having its corps of directors and instructors, its apartments and its appointments. These divisions are according to the ages of the children.

1st. The *Nursery*: infants from birth to twenty-six or twenty-eight months.

2d. The *Pouponnat*: infants from the time of walking to the age of four years.

3d. The *Bambinat*: children from four to six years.

4th. The *Little School or Third Class*: pupils from six to eight years.

5th. The *Second School or Second Class*: children from eight to ten.

6th. The *First School or First Class*: children from ten to thirteen years.

7th. The *Superior Course*: advanced students—those displaying special talents.

8th. *Apprentisage*: the entrance of the child upon productive life takes place gratuitously in the establishment. The various occupations in the *Familistère* are offered him to choose from, and the apprentice is at once put in possession of whatever he earns.

The education and training thus established form a special account in the books of the palace, but the cost is carried to the general expenses of the industrial establishment, from whose profits the *Familistère* was built. It amounts yearly, for the three hundred and twenty children of the various classes, from nineteen to twenty thousand francs, and is divided as follows:

	Francs.
<i>Nursery</i>	10,000
For an average of 40 infants. This makes the expenses for each child 250 francs a year, or 70 centimes a day.	
<i>Pouponnat</i>	800
For 40 children. This is 20 francs a year for each.	
<i>Bambinat</i>	2,000
For 80 children or 25 francs each.	
<i>Third Class</i>	1,400
For 45 children or 31 francs each.	
<i>Second Class</i>	2,300
For 65 children or about 35 francs each.	
<i>First Class</i>	2,200
For 55 children or 40 francs each.	
<i>Extra Courses</i>	1,000
Total	19,700

This amount covers the cost of all the food for the infants from birth to their entrance into the *pouponnat*, and all other

expenses; and for the other divisions, the whole expense of education, including all furniture necessary to teaching.

In the Familistère the education is the same for both sexes. From infancy each room has its side for girls and another for boys; but both participate in the same plays, exercises, and lessons, and are directed by the same mistresses. It is the same in the schools. In each class a wide passage separates the girls' desks from those of the boys, but both have the same professors and the same general studies, varying in detail according to the aptitudes of each sex.

In the Familistère the children of both sexes live the same life, analogous in many respects to the brothers and sisters of one family. They all know each other from their cradles, meet each other constantly in their plays and in their homes, so that the sight of each other excites neither curiosity nor surprise, any more than between brothers and sisters passing their youth in the same room, under the protecting influence of morals born of habit and constant communion.

It would have been contrary to natural laws to separate the sexes completely under such circumstances. The Familistère has not committed such an inconsistency. Separate teaching for the sexes is the rule in public schools; and one of the least evils of this unnatural process is to make the child curious as to the motive of this temporary separation when, from the moment of quitting the school-house, the young girls and boys mix in the streets, in the fields, and everywhere, free from all useless surveillance.

That this system of education should prevail in boarding-schools and colleges where nubile young people come together from all quarters can be understood, though it is to be regretted that society has established education on such bases. But such is the influence of routine and prejudice that the idea of giving public schools the form of the college and the boarding-school prevails in boards of education, and they have made the separation of girls and boys in these schools the rule, though contrary to nature and common-sense. This proves how devoid of principle is the direction of public education in France, and how much there is to do in order to establish instruction on rational bases.

The methods of education practised in the Familistère are not rigidly systematic. They consist in the daily application of all that reflection reveals and experience justifies as profitable to the physical, intellectual, and moral development of childhood.

All the systems of education that enrich our modern age

are tried and combined as experience judges best for the progress of the children. But the excellence of education does not depend upon the merits of systems ; it depends above all upon the devotion to their profession of those who are to apply the systems. The time is coming when education will be the most venerable of all functions—it will be the priesthood and apostleship of truth, duty, and justice.

To-day the application of methods is but too often a trade with those charged with the duty of educating youth. Too few of them are actuated by high sentiment, generosity of heart, and devotion to their kind ; and yet it is in these virtues that lies the value of all systems of education ; for without them, there cannot be a real love for the progress of childhood.

What a noble field the Social Palace would afford for the trial of all systems, and for the regeneration of education, if the passion for doing good had taken deep root in the heart ! Then, among men and women retired from active life a new desire to render themselves useful would animate them to give certain hours of the day, or of certain days of the week, to conferences for the moral and scientific instruction of youth. Thus teachers would multiply in proportion to the demand, and the children would profit by the most varied and useful special lessons upon the sciences, upon morals, agriculture, gardening, common mineralogy, manufacturing, etc. These lessons, while greatly delighting pupils, would increase the circle of their theoretical and practical knowledge, while for the teachers it would create the pleasure that duty accomplished never fails to bring.

The Familistère does not yet possess this advantage. Its foundation is too recent for the religion of life to have sprung up in all hearts. Time will complete the work commenced. As a complement to the education in the schools of the Familistère, which are already well sustained by those who comprehend the grandeur of their mission, the corps of employés attached to the industrial establishment takes charge of the supplementary courses in mechanics, geometry, outline-drawing, vocal and instrumental music, etc. This completes the instruction in the Familistère.

The discipline of the masters and the mistresses is effected by reasoning and persuasion. To educate by attraction is the design of the Familistère as far as possible, both for the smallest children and for those in the different classes.

The necessity of resorting to constraint always results from an insufficient corps of teachers. Corporeal punishment is for-

bidden in the Familistère. The child is only acted upon through moral influence and by depriving him of pleasures.

Rewards of merit, decorations, distinctions, compliments, grades, publicity of meritorious effort, and organized recreations are the means of emulation and enthusiasm which serve to replace the ferule.

Emulation is the strong encouragement brought to bear upon the pupils in the Familistère. It is so organized as to bring into relief in every class the progress of the girls' division and the boys', as compared with each other, and also the comparative progress of the different sections of each division. Decorations are decreed every Saturday.

A special ceremony honors the decorations the first Sunday in each month, when in the great court of the palace, before the united councils and committees, and in the eyes of the whole population, they are awarded. These insignia of work consist of stars with ribbons of red, orange, blue, green, violet, brown, etc., according to the sections of the school.

In each class the division, whether the boys' or the girls', which has won the most recompenses for work during the week or month has priority over the other, and marches at the head of the class during the following week. These defiles take place in the courts after each recess. At the first stroke of the bell all the pupils range themselves in the courts under the eyes of their teachers and of the population. Each pupil places himself according to his rank in the study which is the object of competition during the week.

The name of the study figures in large letters on banners of various colors borne by the students, boys or girls, who most deserve the honor by their application and deportment in any special department.

In their turn the different departments are passed regularly in review, and the parents as well as the whole public can judge of the merits of each pupil by his place in the ranks as the school goes in under the banners of the studies for competition, whether reading, writing, orthography, analysis, style, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, geography, natural history, manual labor, gymnastics, music, declamation, etc.

The gardens must be counted among the attractive resources of teaching in the Familistère. Every summer the schools compose groups of pupils, who, under the direction of the head gardener of the establishment, are initiated into the cultivation and care of gardens while learning at the same time to respect the labor of others. These groups of girls and boys elect from their numbers, by ballot, chiefs and sub-

chiefs whose duty is to have the head gardener's order well executed and to keep good order in the troop of little laborers. The elections take place every week, and those elected must give a constant example of the best work under pain of losing the consideration of their electors.

The administration of the Familistère, to encourage this measure, accords to the children a small compensation, varying with the aptitude and skill of the different divisions of workers. This amount the head gardener and the children agree upon between them.

The gardens of the palace are open all day for the plays and promenades of the children ; but one reserved part of it, beautiful with green lawns, winding, shady walks, acclivities and declivities, serves as a promenade for the united classes, and constitutes a recompense highly appreciated by all the pupils, small and large.

The theatre is, also, for childhood, one of the finest means of emulation offered by the Familistère. The theatre constitutes one of the superior divisions of instruction and of general culture. All the classes meet there for their happy inspirations. This is the place for the general lessons, the declamations and the representations which give great delight to all the classes.

Those pupils who distinguished themselves by intelligent and spirited reading, and by courteous and polite manners under all circumstances, are admitted to the company of little actors and actresses who have the honor to give their representations in the theatre of the palace. The properties of the stage, joined to a wardrobe appropriate to the usages and needs of young actors, constitute for the children one of the greatest pleasures that could be accorded to them.

This is for the more intelligent among the students, an initiation into the art of correct pronunciation and grace of speech, and a preparation for public life. They learn there to form an easy address and a courteous bearing in society ; and by plays carefully chosen or composed specially for them, correct notions of history, of science, of true morals, etc., are engraven upon their hearts in the happiest days of their youth, and can never be effaced.

The theatre, as a hall of learning and reunion, should become for the people of the Social Palace the temple of the religion of life and labor.

The inducements to emulation are definitively consecrated in two grand solemnities constituting the principal celebrations of the Familistère. These are the festivals of labor, and

the children's festival. The first awards prizes to the workmen and employés of the establishment, the second rewards the labor and the progress of the pupils. The first is in May, the second in September. In both, the children are the most interested, whether to see their parents rewarded or to see themselves the objects of distinction.

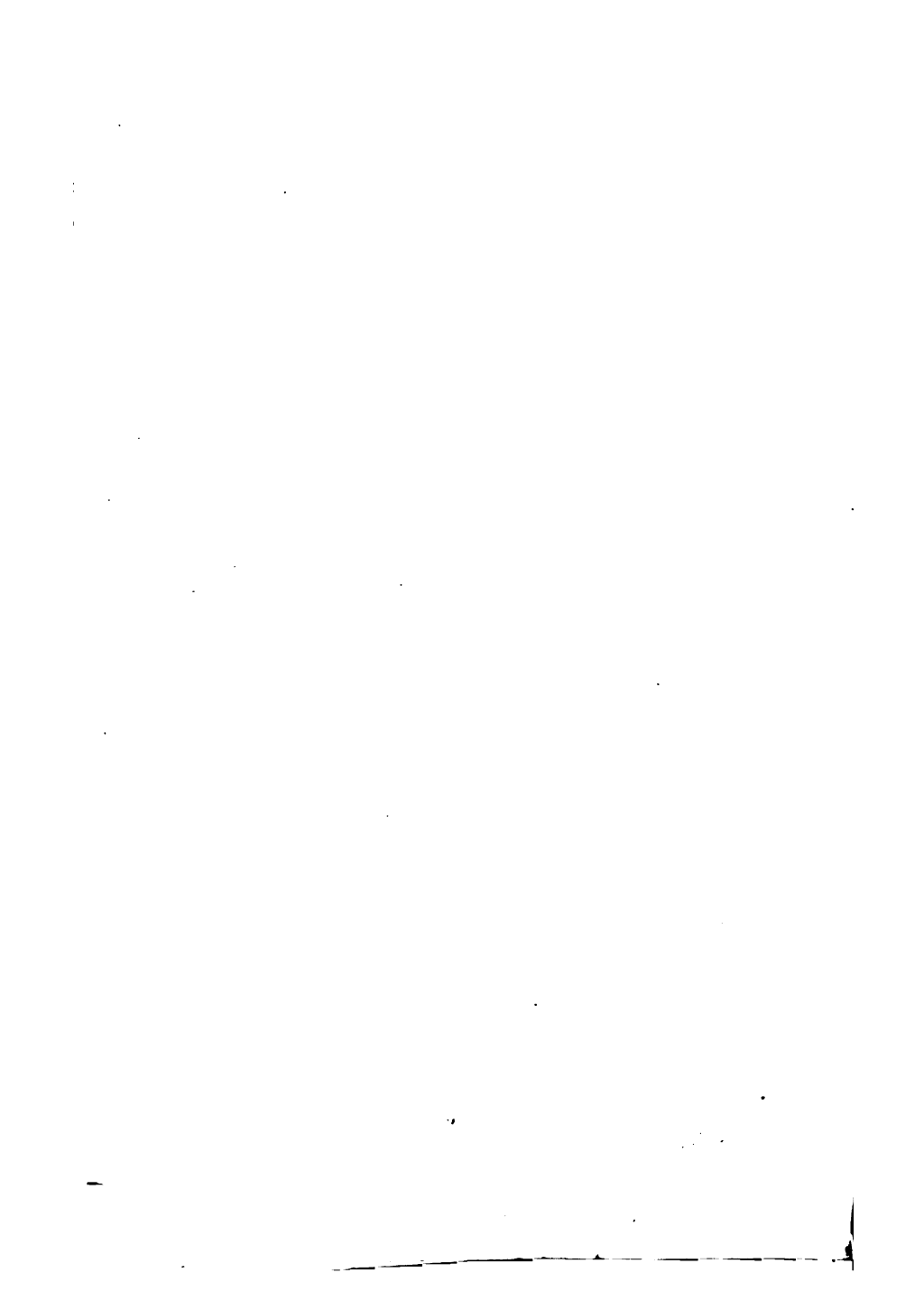
These *fêtes* take place in the grand court of the central building, which is decorated with trophies and emblems of industry on the day of the *fête* of labor, and with trophies of education and with garlands of flowers and foliage on the children's day. At this last celebration the works of the pupils are exposed to the public, and all the children from the *poupons* to the students of the superior course come to receive publicly the rewards of their good conduct, their application, and their progress for the year. These rewards for the higher classes consist of choice books, not chosen for the luxury of their binding, but for their contents, boxes of drawing-tools, boxes of colors, mathematical instruments, instruments of music, sewing apparatus, toilet articles, etc., according to the faculties for which the prizes are given. The traditional green wreath, gilded or silvered, accompanies the prizes of the laureates.

The little ones receive toys of all kinds: house-keeping boxes, Noah's arks, dolls, jumping-jacks, tops, balls, horns, games of skittles, tenpins, marbles, wagons, miniature animals, etc., and it is wonderful to see their happiness and their enthusiasm at this distribution of toys so dear to little ones, and of which the child of the poor is so often deprived. It is not so in the Familistère. All the legitimate wants of the child, physical and moral, are foreseen, and as far as possible provided for; and the delight in amusements, so great in the child, is one of the best motives to induce him to work or study. By these he acquires the right to recreative objects intelligently adapted to develop his moral and physical powers.

XXXIV. THE NURSERY AND THE POUPONNAT.

The two divisions of the youngest children are in a special building behind the palace opposite its central entrance. The lower floor of this building is on a level with that of the palace and communicates with it by a passage. Fig. 38 represents its exterior view, with its balconies or galleries which serve as promenades for the children, sheltered from the rain, and as communications with the lawns and the groves that





surround the building. The entrance to this building is through a small vestibule, on the right of which is the kitchen, and beyond that a room where the soiled linen is kept, also brooms, brushes, washing-tubs, bathing-tubs, etc. Here also are the children's water-closets, with little seats. At the left of the vestibule is the hall for the *poupons*, or little ones from the age of twenty-eight months to four years; who at certain hours of the day meet there, after the excitement of gymnastic exercises and marching with singing, to rest on the seats in this hall. During these quiet moments instructive stories are told them, or they are taught some song. This is the place of their first lessons.

At the end of the vestibule is a door opening into a hall 15 metres long by 6 wide (about 50 by 20 feet). This is for play and physical exercise generally. The interior is represented in Fig. 39. It extends the whole width of the building, and communicates at each end with the exterior balconies surrounding the building and opening on the lawns and gardens of the palace. On the side beyond the vestibule are the cradle-rooms, entirely open to the great play-room and only separated from it by a wood partition about 26 inches high. Each of these rooms contains from fourteen to sixteen cradles, placed on each side at right angles to the walls with a passage in the centre for the nurses. These rooms can accommodate about fifty cradles beside the nurses' beds. By this arrangement the eye embraces at a glance the infants in their cradles and those in the great play-hall. All the rooms in this building are perfectly lighted and ventilated, and a proper temperature is maintained day and night. It is properly supplied with water, and the gas is at the disposition of the nurses and directresses during the whole night.

The play-hall is divided into two parts by a balustrade about 30 inches high. The part at the right, entering from the vestibule, is for the babies, the left for the plays and exercises of the *poupons*. The first contains a platform in the form of an ellipse, about 10 feet long by 5 wide, mounted on small wheels, so that the place it occupies may be kept clean. This ellipse is surrounded by two little balustrades nearly 15 inches high and about 24½ inches apart. The youngest infants are left free upon this platform. Between the balustrades they learn to walk supporting themselves by their hands. The interior balustrade has an opening about 14 inches wide, permitting the infants to pass into the centre of this piece of furniture when they please. This movable platform, which all the nurses call the *promenade* (the *walk*), serves

as a place of meeting for the babies, and the youngest and weakest admire the stronger ones and try hard to imitate their movements. The stronger ones leave "the promenade" whenever they please, and exercise their agility in playing together in the room or find their way to the balconies, where there are little arm-chairs joined three and three, and there they sit in company. In these little arm-chairs, also, the children sit around their nurses when they take their food.

The nursery of the Familistère makes use of a kind of mattress which deserves particular notice, though it has been already described in the annual report of the Association; but the experiments that had to be made in the Familistère before arriving at a method so simple and complete, and the serious inconveniences that it prevents, makes it a duty to repeat it for the benefit of families and *crèches* where infants may still be suffering the humidity and the odor of urine.

In the Familistère the infant's bed is always dry and sweet. The cradles are composed of an oval in strong wire supported on two uprights, one at each end; that at the head extends above and bends over to support the curtains. The uprights end in two iron feet united by a transverse bar. Thus they are portable and very light. A strong ticking is laced on the oval of wire, and this makes the body of a very graceful bed. The mattress is made of from thirty to forty quarts of coarse bran, well bolted, which is put in this ticking and covered with a little sheet. The pillow can also be made of this bran. This bed never becomes wet. At the waking of the infant the humid bran is found adhering in a mass, which can be easily removed and the bed is perfect again. From time to time new bran is added, and that which is removed can be thrown upon the compost heaps of the barnyard.

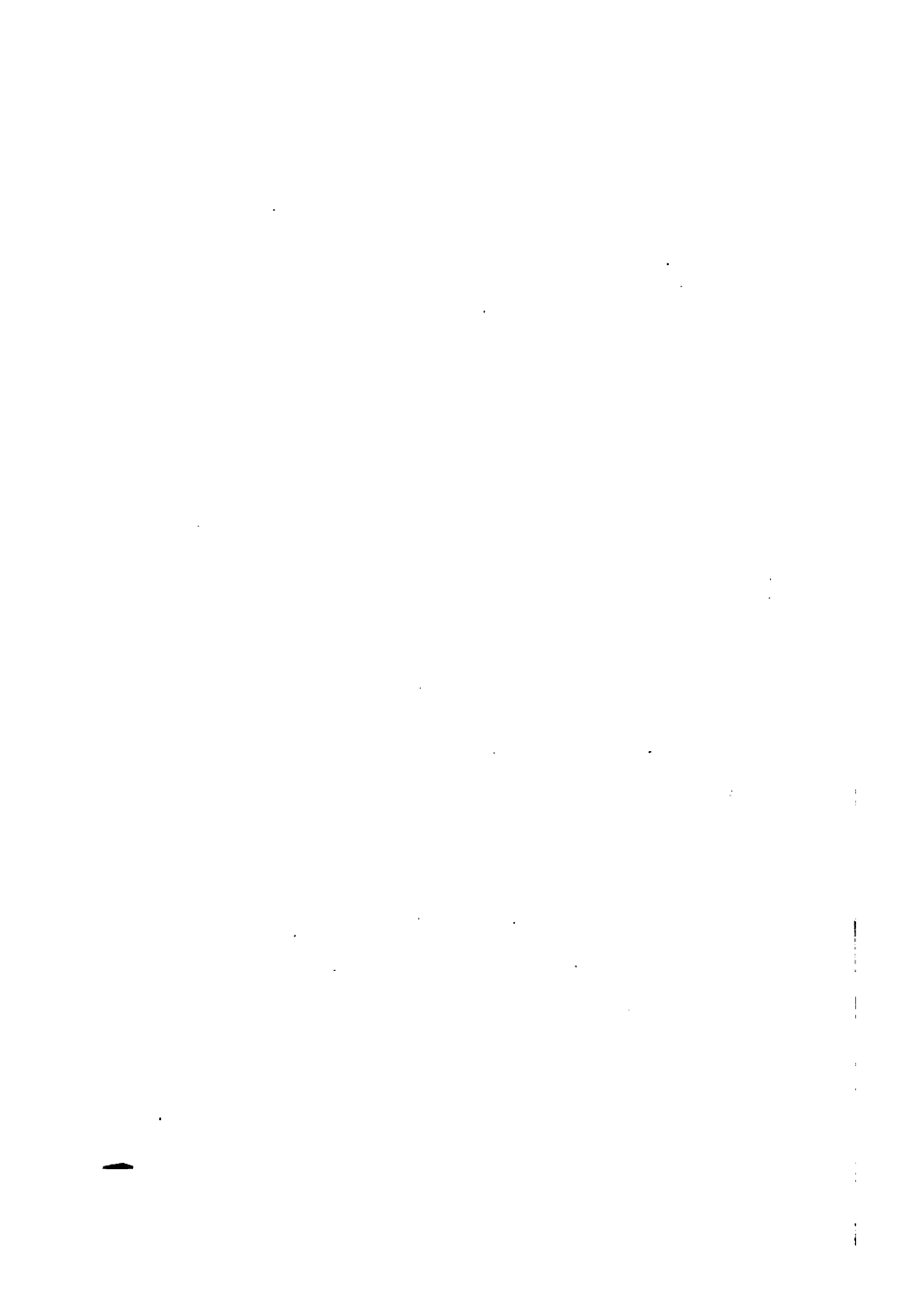
Every month, at least, the bran should be entirely renewed, in order to avoid all fermentation, which may be still further guarded against by having the bran heated in the oven before being used.

In the winter the baby is never cold on this simple bed, and it is much less hot in summer for being perfectly dry. This method greatly reduces the trouble of taking care of infants; for it is very little work to remove a handful of bran and change a little sheet.

The children of the Familistère nursery are thus placed under better hygienic conditions than those of parents generally in easy circumstances. The laborer in this respect has no cause to envy the rich.

The child in this nursery is never rocked. It is a pleasure





to see them put to bed wide awake without crying or moaning, and waking the same. The suppression of rocking is another conquest over routine.

The nursery and the *pouponnat* are certainly the most efficient means to save the child from that want of care to which he is so often a victim in families who are poor and obliged to work constantly. These are the only institutions competent to prevent the sad consequences of neglect which destroys a quarter of the infants in their earliest age.

In the Familistère, neither neglect nor the want of cleanliness, nor amusement, nor poverty, nor indigestion are the causes of the mortality of infants, to which society closes its eyes. The child in the Social Palace receives all the care demanded by his age. The nursery and the *pouponnat* are there in the home near the apartments of each, always open to the infants and to the mothers, and night and day nurses watch their cradles with tender care, whenever the mothers are obliged to go to their work.

The child is there in the midst of surroundings adapted to his age, in the society of his peers, free from that loneliness and uneasiness tormenting him when separated from his comrades, and which he expresses by tears and cries. Forty infants in the Familistère nursery are less wearying and annoying than one in the isolated household.

To the pleasure that the child finds in this situation is added the comfort of the family. The household retains that cleanliness, order, and quiet so necessary to the repose of the laborer, and which is impossible when the baby is permanently present.

I have said but little of what is done for the education of the child of this age, because it depends almost entirely upon the happy disposition of the rooms, the material cares, the general neatness maintained about the child, and especially upon the choice of the nurses; for the maternal sentiment is the best auxiliary to the first education, if only that sentiment is guided by science and reason.

The lessons of the child at this age are very few.

On waking, to wait his turn, without crying, while his comrades are being served;

To eat from the teaspoon in his turn, without trying to take the portion of his little neighbor;

To feed himself like older children, as soon as he can possibly do so;

To stand up bravely in the promenade, walk and pass his comrades without upsetting them or falling himself;

To use the little water-closet seats adroitly, like the big comrades of the *pouponnat* ;

To watch the *bambins* * play, and listen to their songs ;

To admire the birds in the aviary, and converse with the parrot ;

To call the squirrel, and make him turn his tread-mill ;

To walk on the balconies and on the lawns, leading his little friends who are trying their powers ;

To lie down and roll on the greenswards :

To talk with his little friends ;

To obey the nurses ;

To go to sleep without crying.

This is what can be obtained without constraint from infants living in the society of their little peers, being guided by intelligent and affectionate women, with whom the love of the good and the love of childhood are the first of virtues.

The baby remains in the nursery up to the time when, having learned to keep himself clean, and to be a good walker, he himself demands, and even entreats, permission to go and take part in the exercises of the *poupons* or smaller *bambins*. This generally takes place from 26 to 28 months.

From this time on, the child returns to his family for his meals and to sleep there. He is now able, if need be, to make this little journey alone, or in the company of the larger *bambins*, whose apartments may be near to his ; but more often he is led by his brothers or sisters, or taken in the arms of his father or mother as a pleasure in returning from their work. Already at this age the little one contrasts the habit of going regularly to the reunions of his comrades in the rooms of his first reminiscences.

In the *pouponnat*, as in the nursery, the training and the lessons that the infant receives have one object : to aid the harmonious development of the body in order to build up for the mind an instrument strong and sure.

What is there more necessary to the laborer than a well-formed, robust, and vigorous constitution ? It is therefore that the greatest care is lavished upon the first years of childhood, and while helping the family to give all possible care to its progeny, the Familistère, on its side, supplies all the wants that the family, isolated, is unable to meet.

The *pouponnat* is the indispensable complement of the nursery, for it preserves the child from the privation of care which, after having been watched over and tenderly nursed

* Children from four to six years of age.

in its first days, he still needs until strong enough to go to school.

Then the *pouponnat* has the happiest effect upon the babies of the nursery. It is the most direct stimulant to their young imaginations. As soon as the infant can walk he tries to do the gymnastic steps with the *poupons*, to the sound of the clapping of hands and singing, and to take part in all their exercises. This excites the curiosity even of those who cannot walk, and all aspire to be able to do so much.

It is natural to admire that which is within the limits of our comprehension. Profiting by this natural law, and by giving living and well-graduated examples to the little child, of what he can attain himself, his development is facilitated.

The exercises of the *pouponnat* are nearly the following :

Assembling on the benches of the first-lesson room.

Inspection of the state of cleanness of the face and hands ;

Childish songs—invocation ;

Marching ;

First lessons in friendship, touching what is good and what evil, and the duties owed to others ;

Little repasts of tartines, with lessons in eating properly ;

Gymnastic exercises and singing ;

Walking the rounds of the garden and over the lawns ;

Stories by the mistresses of moral and instructive history, with illustrative pictures ;

First lessons in the alphabet—indicating the letters while singing the alphabet ;

Singing the numbers up to one hundred, which are counted at the same time on the numerical frames by the *bambin* monitors or the most advanced among the *poupons* ;

Drawing on the slate ;

Lessons in familiar things ;

Playing in the gardens without injuring anything ;

Rewards of monitorship acquired by merit ;

Distribution of decorations and prizes won during the week. These are ribbon decorations, bonbons, little images, etc.

Occasionally a show of fine dolls that open their eyes, run out their tongues, move their hands, and other surprises promised in advance.

As a special recompense and at rare intervals, when the little ones have been very good and very attentive to the wishes of their teachers, puppet shows (*représentations au théâtre de Guignol*).

Exhibitions of little animals, living and artificial. Such are the various means by which little children may be amused

and instructed. It is the duty of the directress to know how to apply and vary and develop these means to the greatest advantage of the pupils.

XXXV. THE BAMBINAT.

The building containing the *bambinat*, the schools, and the theatre, represented in Fig. 40, faces the central part of the Familistère. The central part of the building in question comprises the theatre (which is the general hall of reunion for the children and for assemblies, lectures, etc.); also the room for the orchestra, which serves also for lectures, committees, and for the musical and other societies of the Familistère. The building at the right contains the *bambinat* room, and the room of the Third Class; that at the left, the Second and First Class rooms.

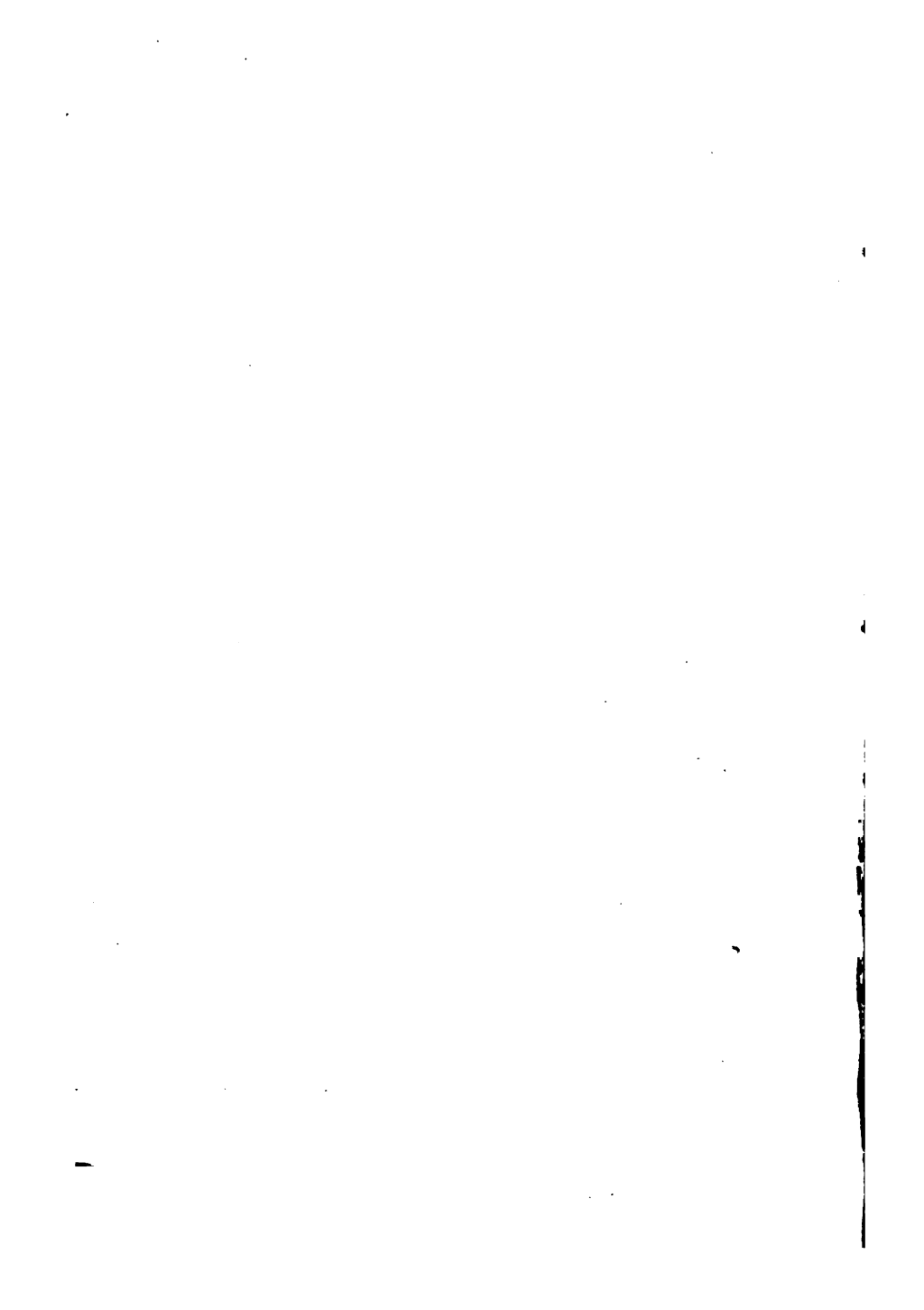
I cannot enter here into the details of the teaching in the Familistère without making this volume too large; what I have said upon the subject, in the section on integral education in this chapter, will excuse me for putting off the development at this time of the system of teaching in each class.

The *bambinat* receives the children when they leave the *pouponnat*, which is about four years of age, and keeps them until just after their sixth year. The *bambinat* is principally guided by the methods employed in infant schools. From the works of Madame Marie Pope-Carpentier, so full of sympathy for little children, the Familistère borrows its methods of management, and its means of educating the directresses for their work. These ladies are all chosen from the members of the association.

Like all well-organized infant schools, the *bambinat* room has its tiers of seats in the form of the amphitheatre, its picture-holders with platform for the monitors to stand on, its blackboards on casters for drawing-models, its slates and pencils, numerical frames, its beds for rest, its shelves, and tables for the children's lunches, and finally its pictorial alphabet and spellers, spelling-books, big images colored and mounted on card-board, its pictures of objects of natural history, of art and industry, familiar objects for study, little moral stories, etc.

Certain exercises for the *bambinat* have been taken from the method of M. Fröbel. There are special preparations necessary for these. Wide boards about eighteen feet long, placed against the walls of the room, are, when wanted, brought





into the centre and set together on three trestles so as to form long tables about which the children place themselves.

A case, with pigeon-holes containing innumerable little pieces of wood a centimetre thick (two-fifths of an inch), two centimetres wide, and four and eight centimetres long, is produced. This contains, also in wood, triangles, squares, parallelograms, one centimetre thick and of four and eight centimetres in dimension, and a great number of other little pieces the use of which is indicated by experience. With these objects the children busy themselves in making buildings and various structures.

Another case contains little sticks, and bits of galvanized wire, some centimetres long, and balls of plastic clay. With these, various little toy-works are made, such as baskets, cages, roofs and fences for their houses, etc. These materials attract them to invent all sorts of combinations which the childish sagacity is capable of. The pupils thus grouped about their work-benches try to rival each other and see which can make the most beautiful things.

M. Laisné's method of classic gymnastic exercises with singing is that which is generally followed in the *bambinat*. Lessons in the sign language, by M. Grosselin are also given to the pupils.

The directors of the *bambinat* have invented for the Familistère a kind of drawing in white lines on brown card which greatly facilitates the slate-drawing of the pupils, as it obviates the necessity of new copies being made daily on the black-boards—a difficult task and requiring much time if well done. A complete collection of various models is constantly at the disposition of the teachers, and the greater part of them, by the simplicity of their outlines, is appropriate to the youngest children. These can be changed at each lesson, and thus afford the charm of constant novelty. The drawing-lessons are indeed among the most attractive of the school, and show excellent results in the *bambinat*.

In the *bambinat*, physical culture takes precedence of all other. Promenades in the gardens, under the trees of the palace, plays and games on the lawns, are constant, and the class sessions are made amusing for the little pupils.

An idea can be formed of their exercises by the following :

Meeting on the green ;

Entrance into school at the sound of the signal ;

Singing the prayer, or religious and fraternal invocation ;

Singing a march and forming circles at the black-boards for reading the alphabet in concert ;

Nomination of monitors for the *pouponnat* ;

Lesson in drawing on the slate from picture-models of vases, tools, costumes of children, cottages, dishes, kitchen utensils, letters, figures, etc.

Taking places in order for spelling, or singing, gymnastics, exercises on the abacus, recitations in moral and instructive history, sign-language, lessons in good behavior among comrades, in arts and industries, natural history, etc.;

Return to the seats, marching in order, and with singing and gymnastic exercises ;

Fröbel exercises on the long tables brought into the centre of the class-room.

Recess. Lessons in cleanliness ;

Assembling for puppet shows ;

Rounds and songs ; various games, etc.;

Distribution every week of images, bonbons, and decorations ; promotions to the head of the sections as a reward of merit ; choosing monitors for the next week.

Such are the principal exercises which, skilfully varied, enable two or three persons to occupy the time of from eighty to one hundred children in the Familistère with order and benefit to health as well as to the mind.

XXXVI. THE SCHOOLS.

At six years the child commences to spell, counts to one hundred, adds on the abacus, draws on the slate, and longs to be promoted into the third class of the schools. There, with harder tasks, he learns to read and write and cipher, but he returns still with pleasure at certain hours and takes his seat on the benches of the *bambinat* for class exercises proper for his age.

The schools receive the *bambins* as soon as they are able to get the lessons and do the tasks of one of the sections of the third class. The regular movement of these sections tends to establish itself among the children trained from their birth in the Familistère. For them each age of childhood forms natural divisions in which education progresses without leaving any laggards behind. There is difference, of course, in the degrees of intelligence ; but with rare exceptions each follows the division of his age. It is not the same with children arriving from outside. Their neglected training always produces temporary perturbation in this natural gradation.

It should be said here that the education in the Familistère has none of those traditional pedagogical characteristics by which the credulity and the ignorance of the people are led to preserve an absurd system of instruction that imposes so much the more upon parents because the things taught are utterly incomprehensible to them, and indeed to the students themselves, and consequently are less likely to be discussed or practically tested.

In the greater part of the schools the pupils are made to toil over extraordinary problems in arithmetic, and great boys on graduating from these schools are absolutely incapable of applying the four rules to the operations of commerce and industry. Greek and Latin are taught in these schools also, which, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred, are never of the least use.

Instruction in the Familistère is confined to the sphere of the usual and the practical. The pupil is taught specially that which he will need every day and in the various circumstances of his life. All the studies of the pupil, all the problems he is called to solve, are taken from the ordinary facts that he sees around him, so that the school is an initiation into practical life.

The resources of instruction naturally increase as the children by age become more capable of acquiring learning and knowledge.

The programme of teaching in the higher classes is made up, for each day of the week and of the month, of a certain number of the following exercises ; but this programme is so ordered that all the branches are taught in their time, and proportionally to the importance of each.

The enumeration of the exercises of each class will serve to show what the pupils are taught.

STUDIES AND EXERCISES OF THE THIRD CLASS.

Entering school at the hour and in company with the large pupils in the ranks formed in the court of the palace ;

Spelling, reading—books instructive and amusing, and adapted to the age of the children ;

Elements of writing—writing-books prepared with copies ;

Addition and subtraction—slates and pencils—copy-books with models of figures ;

Exercises with the abacus ; multiplication table ; copies and recitations of verbs—copying of passages from books in order to learn correct spelling ;

Drawing on slates from models on the board ;

Enumeration—tracing geometrical lines and figures on blank-books and on the black-boards ;

Lessons in useful things, inspiring the love of labor and the desire to know ; stories of natural history, arts and callings, noble actions, etc.—illustrative pictures ;

Gymnastics ; participation in the principal exercises of the *bambinat* ; Fröbel exercises at the long tables ;

Lessons in good-fellowship ; admission to the practical lessons in gardening ; care of garden walks ; visits to the animals of the barn and poultry yards, etc.

STUDIES AND EXERCISES OF THE SECOND CLASS.

Reading, writing in copy-books—capitals and small letters of all kinds ;

Frequent copies from books to form correct orthography ; writing from dictation, verbs, analysis, style ;

The first four rules of arithmetic ; demonstrations and explanations by the pupils on the black-board ;

The metric system—weights and measures ;

Linear drawing ; free-hand sketches on the slate ;

Elements of geometry ;

Elements of geography—wall-maps ;

Moral and instructive lessons ;

Various reading, explained and developed by the master, on the arts and sciences, natural history, manufacturing, etc. ;

Gardening lessons with the pupils of the first class ;

Lessons in vocal music ;

Gymnastics ;

Participation in the lessons of the older pupils in declamation in the theatre.

STUDIES AND EXERCISES OF THE FIRST CLASS.

Reading various instructive books ;

Writing, of all kinds ;

Exercises in French ; orthography, conjugations of verbs, dictations, analysis, style, copying from good authors to teach orthography and good diction ; grammar ;

Practical arithmetic applied to commerce and industry ;

Book-keeping by double and single entry—special blank-books for this exercise ;

Demonstration of every problem on the black-board by the pupils and the master in turn, before the whole class ;

Metrical system ; practical lessons in weighing and measuring—weighing machines, measures of capacity and dimension ;

Elements of geometry and mechanics ;

Elements of mineralogy ; studies of the land and of stones found in arable soils ; studies of the principal minerals used in industry—mineralogical cabinet ; classification of soils, stones, and ores ;

General geography ; special study of France ; its departments, cities, railroads, canals, navigable rivers, principal points on the globe—grand wall-maps of France, Europe, and all parts of the world ; a large globe is used in this class ;

Elements of cosmography, demonstration of the planetary system—charts of the heavens and various astronomical instruments ;

Human osteology, study of all parts of the body ; drawing the skeleton, natural size ;

Lessons in higher morals ; explanations of the Laws of Life and of labor inspiring the child with the desire to render himself useful to himself and others ; linear drawing of objects of art and industry for the boys, household objects, patterns of clothing, costumes, etc., for the girls ; free-hand drawing from copies and from nature ; colors, India ink, etc.

Elements of history, particularly from the French Revolution ;

Vocal and instrumental music ; books and musical instruments for each pupil ;

Declamations, lectures, and theatrical representation ;

Out of school, working in the garden with tools and instruments proportioned to the size of the pupils ; gymnastics ; promenades, visits to the manufactory.

SUPERIOR COURSE.

The most advanced students of the first class have the benefit of a higher course of instruction, to which none are admitted but those who by their intelligence and application are in a state to profit thereby.

INDUSTRIAL APPRENTICESHIP.

This apprenticeship is in some branch of the manufactory for the boys, and in some position in the service of the Familistère for the girls, when no other vocation is preferred.

Such is the education of the Familistère. We have spoken in our section upon integral education of the rewards, decorations, banners, books, toys, organized recreations and solemnizations which are for all classes of childhood, and form the complement of the methods of emulation and instruction in the Familistère.

XXXVII. PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION.

We have just seen how the Familistère secures the intellectual development of the young, and opens to them the avenues to a useful, moral life; but in moulding the rising generation we must not be indifferent to the working generation.

After organizing the material part of life, the useful and the progressive, we must organize the moral satisfactions and pleasures of life; for the free expansion of the social faculties of man, for the free impulses of the higher wants which attract him to public and collective life. We shall see in the following sections what the Familistère has done toward supplying the conditions.

The moment the principle is admitted that the common right to live should find its justification in the labor of Nature, combined with that of man, many difficulties disappear as to the right way of benefiting from institutions recognized as necessary to all; and if the applications that the truth of the law of life indicates are not made immediately in their integrality, at least we are led to give to transitional means the character most adapted to the general enjoyment of the things most indispensable to life and progress.

If the principle of association between labor and capital is admitted, it will be granted that a certain number of the advantages common to all families should be gratuitous and included in the general expenses of the association. This is the easy and simple way to place all good things within reach of all, and especially of the poorer families. It is therefore that the rearing and education of childhood is absolutely gratuitous in the Familistère.

There are certain necessary things which, if not completely gratuitous, ought at least to be so combined that nothing in the price nor the manner of payment can hinder their use.

We have seen the practice of this in the renting of apartments. The price of these is so low that the laborer cannot fail to find an advantage in the rent. It should be the same

with things relating to health and progress in life ; nothing should tend to cause the neglect of their use.

The wash-houses and laundries are free to all the population in consideration of a slight addition to the rent. It is the same for medical services and the relief funds, whence it results that the measure of the gratuity or of the price can be increased or diminished as the associates deem necessary. This means more or less profits shared between capital and labor. It is an indirect augmentation of wages for the families, and of the general expenses of production.

There are, nevertheless, certain things that an intelligent administration should unquestionably make wholly gratuitous. Among these is the service of general cleanliness that we are about to examine.

XXXVIII. SERVICE OF GENERAL CLEANLINESS.

In such an enterprise as the Familistère, good service, like its good moral direction, depends upon the principles of the administrative rule. In an edifice where from four to nine hundred, and even from twelve to fifteen hundred, are to live in succession, quiet, harmony, and order all depend upon the rational organization of the services of common interest.

It will be seen that in a habitation like this, the continual circulation, the wants unceasingly renewed, exact perfect cleanliness and a free access to everything for common use. Every family adds something to the amount of sweeping, cleaning, and general care indispensable to the good order of the place.

The parsimony and indifference characteristic of the general treatment of workmen's homes would have suggested the economy of leaving this function to each family ; but the consequences of such a measure would have been very bad, and would even have compromised success.

If in other places families are at liberty to be careless about cleanliness, in the Familistère this would be difficult. In the Palace the least garbage irritates the sight ; then, to put the care of keeping the building in order upon the families would be to impose a drudgery, and this not the least inconvenience of the system. How many remarks, how many criticisms, and even altercations, would not the subject create between neighbors ! How often the management would have to interfere ; and a whole squad of police would be necessary to maintain a constrained order and a forced cleanliness.

It has not been thus in the Familistère ; and its adversaries, who foresaw only similar means of managing ; and the difficulties that must inevitably result from it, have been signally disappointed.

From the opening of the Familistère the tenants were put in possession of their apartments. They were at home, and nothing was asked of them but the payment of their rent. The courts, the stairs, the balconies, the corridors, the water-closets, dust-closets, sinks for dirty water, the school-rooms, and public halls—everything, in fact, of common use, the property of all, but of no one individual, was taken care of by the administration ; and that to which no one has any contribution to make, no part to pay, no work to add, no one can have any tendency to abuse ; each one must respect its use for others as for himself.

In this case, where there might have been a permanent cause of conflict, there is now a cause of harmony and good understanding, through the satisfaction that each experiences.

It was the problem of domestic freedom solved. In this, as in everything pertaining to the comfort of the middle class and the poor, I have sought to realize for them the equivalents of wealth. This was the solution. Wealth has its servants to render life more easy ; hereafter, the inhabitant of the Familistère should have his to watch over the general salubrity and neatness of the house. It should no longer be possible for the neighborhood of the house of the poor to be a place of rubbish and infection.

It is true that the service of the Palace is not individual ; but for all that, everyone has the pleasure of seeing the courts, the stairs, the balconies, and all the environment of the home kept constantly swept and cleaned without any trouble to himself.

The persons in the Familistère who fill those functions of general utility, in consideration of a stated amount of wages, are in the service of all, but of no individual. These functions well performed command a general respect from the inhabitants, for superiority in all labor is a great honor in the Social Palace.

XXXIX. CONVENIENCE OF THE APARTMENTS.

The advantages and the resources with which the apartments in the Social Palace are surrounded procure a degree of comfort to the inhabitants very superior to that of the

home of the laborer generally, encumbered as it is with annoying domestic operations. In the Palace the home may be always neat and in order. No discomfort disturbs its principal mission. For family gatherings, for meals, for repose, there are all possible facilities.

The proximity of the Social Palace to the workshop permits the laborer to return home as soon as his work is finished, without adding fatigue to the day's toil. He can change his dress on entering if he wishes, and find immediate rest to repair his strength. This is different in many places, where the laborer has a great distance to walk before reaching his home.

On entering the Familistère, the parents meet their children coming out of the schools, and the family are immediately united for their repast, which, thanks to the resources that the Palace offers, is easily prepared.

To the advantages inherent in the surroundings afforded by the Social Palace is added that of being able to extend the apartments as the needs of the family may require.

A young household without children is more conveniently lodged in a single room; then in two when the family is increased by children; and when these become large, a third or fourth room may become necessary, and also a cellar and garret.

On the contrary, when the family reaches its apogee of development, and the children marry, the family home needs to be decreased instead of augmented, and in inverse proportion to that which we have indicated.

The Social Palace meets these wants completely. It permits the apartments to be always of the extent demanded by the number and resources of the family. Even the workman who owns his house cannot enjoy this advantage. He must be inconvenienced when his family is too large for the house, and also when the house is too large for the family.

The inhabitants of the Social Palace not being owners, but stockholders, are not attached to their property except as tenants; so that each one can easily make any changes he may deem necessary. To-day, one renounces his cellar, another his garret, which a third accepts. Others change a suit of two for one of three chambers; and all this without the rents ceasing to produce profits for the associates.

These mutations and changes are even to be encouraged, because each time they cause the thorough repair of the premises, the expenses of which are defrayed by those wishing the change.

The Familistère contains a certain number of furnished rooms for single persons and for any of the associates who may have need of them temporarily, for relatives or friends visiting them ; or, sometimes, in case of sickness in the family. In the latter case the medical committee puts furnished chambers at the disposition of the families needing them. The patient thus finds greater quiet, because there are none about him except those who nurse him or visit him. On the contrary, when the patient remains at home it may be that some other member of the family, whose services are not needed for the patient, or for his own greater quiet, may require a furnished chamber. Thus these supplementary rooms benefit the whole family, and in the very rare cases of contagion furnish means for preventing its spread.

The societary homes, then, from whatever point of view regarded, unite advantages that those owning their houses cannot enjoy.

XL. HOLIDAYS AND PLEASURES.

The Social Palace is the practical expression of fraternal love. It is the door by which man makes his entrance openly into the way of the Laws of Life. When he has come to understand his destiny, when he accepts the principle of the sharing of labor and the distribution of its fruits on equitable bases, when he knows how to organize all things about him for his repose, his peace, and his security, aspirations for artistic and intellectual pleasures are soon awakened, and to meet such aspirations the Social Palace offers the most novel and broadly conceived resources, because they are allied to all the other conditions of prosperity and progress.

The Social Palace, such as we have described it, is magnificently endowed to procure the enjoyment of its inhabitants ; its grand glass-roofed courts, its public halls, its theatre, its library, are so many resources of social and individual enjoyment, impossible to realize under such satisfactory conditions among a population differently organized.

Other attractions are presented outside the Palace, in the gardens, the lawns, the groves that border the tranquil waters of the Oise. All the people are free to go where they choose—here they are fishing with hook and line ; there groups converse on the seats in the garden ; others are sailing on the river ; the children run through the walks, around the beds of flowers and shrubs, and on the lawns where all the joyous groups have their gambols and sports.

There are, then, at the Familistère many sources of pleasure and recreation that most of those in easy circumstances are deprived of, and these advantages are united to the pleasure of a society easy of access.

The theatrical and musical societies, vocal and instrumental, are valuable additions to the general attractions.

The representations of dramas, comedies, or vaudevilles, which the people perform during the winter evenings, are unknown pleasures in other country places. The pleasure in being enrolled among the actors is not less great for some of the members than that of others as spectators of the representations. The rules or regulations of the theatrical society are conceived in the best spirit, and do honor to the entire corps of actors and actresses under its patronage.

The choral society is composed of the pupils most advanced in music and of amateurs found among the members. It is a pleasure for this society to fill the interludes of the theatrical representations, and a pleasure to the audience to hear them. It is a delight to the fathers, mothers, the children, and to everybody.

The society of thirty-five musicians completes the sum of the refining enjoyments of the Familistère. It furnishes the theatre a fine orchestra, and gives to the fêtes of the Palacé a charm and a dignity that all appreciate. During fine summer evenings the windows of the hall of the orchestra are open, and the people go out on the central exterior square and while promenading listen to choice selections of music. Here the amateurs of the city come to hear the music and to mingle with the groups of the Familistère.

All the recreations and amusements are accessible to the whole population, because the Social Palace brings them within reach of all.

The fêtes of the Familistère especially have a character of grandeur and majesty which the working class can nowhere else so completely take part in. In the great glazed courts of the Palace, where two or three thousand persons can circulate easily, the least decoration makes a great effect and lends much to the occasion.

Plate No. 41 represents the distribution of prizes at the Fête of Labor. This takes place annually, like that of the distribution of prizes to the children of the schools. From the commencement of the preparations for this fête all the members bend every effort to give the celebration a character worthy of its object. The trophies, the panoplies, then go up with enthusiasm along the vast interior galleries of the Palace,

and these preparations give to the courts of the Familistère a "pomp of circumstance" that delights all the members and excites the admiration of visitors.

It is indeed a grand spectacle, and well calculated to show the members the distance that separates them from the state of abandonment they formerly experienced in the isolated home. In the Social Palace the working people, without going out of their homes inaugurate the celebration of the honors they have won.

The proclamation of the honors of practical industry, like that of the progress of the students, is made in the presence of relatives and friends and of numerous spectators attracted from all parts of the canton.

At the opening of the festival the music of the orchestra swells through the immense pile of the central court. All the bodies elected by suffrage, clothed in their different insignia, then enter and take their places under the portico raised for the occasion on an immense stage. The children of the Familistère are seated in front of this stage, and the laureates of labor, as a good example to them, come and receive the recompenses of their merit.

Choice music heralds the entrance of the principal laureates, who are greeted with rounds of applause from the audience. As soon as the day celebration ends, the fête of the night commences. The court is transformed by the company of firemen, as if by magic, into an immense ball-room; the musicians take their place under the portico we have mentioned, and hundreds sweep through the mazes of the dance to the sound of the orchestra, and give themselves up to pleasure until a late hour of the night, in the presence of some two thousand spectators from the galleries of the Palace.

The reader can judge of the effect of such celebrations upon the minds of the associates, small and great. All unite enthusiastically in the preparations for the general celebration, the pleasure of each is augmented by the pleasure of all, and the sentiment of fraternity and solidarity takes new life in all hearts.

XII. ORDER AND LIBERTY.

Despite the principles of right, duty, and justice presented in this book, many persons will ask what are the regulations of life in the Familistère; for few people can reconcile principles with facts. Many people would believe in a complete

revolution in the habits and customs of the family. These believe in rules obligatory and even severe. It is not enough to have broadly stated the rights of human liberty ; they would have us still further explain how that liberty works in practice.

On this subject a word only is necessary. In great cities the houses have four floors, and even more. One staircase leads to all the apartments, which open on narrow landings. The stairs are used by all the tenants, and are free to the public. It has never been found that these entrances to apartments, crowded one upon another, were an interference with liberty, nor upon the habits of the family. Why should it be different in the Familistère, where the apartments have their entrances on vast galleries with the space of the great courts before them? The Familistère, indeed, presents infinitely less cause of promiscuity than city lodgings.

City houses have no regulation ; why should the Familistère have? Its inhabitants are perfectly free. Let there be no mistaking. Liberty is the absolute essence of right ; nothing will prove enduring in human institutions if liberty be not respected.

Notwithstanding what I have shown for the material surroundings of the home and its influences upon the fate of the laboring classes, it must be understood that the amelioration is left to develop itself. The surroundings ought to produce it. It ought not to be imposed.

The inhabitants of new dwellings should find in the use of new facilities new advantages, without the loss of anything formerly possessed. They should see vanish, one by one, the causes of annoyance and discomfort, ordinary in workmen's homes, without the new home imposing any sacrifice of enjoyment. Thus the Familistère has its entrances, but neither gates nor bars. Everybody comes and goes everywhere, at any hour, from cellar to garret, without consulting anyone. The Familistère is absolutely free !

From its origin, of course, the establishment has had its administration and its offices ; but instead of being to regulate and govern the inhabitants they have no object but the supervision of the commercial interests, and to look after the services of common interest. The people were invited to take part in these services, but freely and voluntarily, for certain salaries, discussed and decided for each function and for each kind of work to be done.

In the Familistère liberty is the first principle in every measure taken. Neither individuals nor families have to

trouble themselves about following rules. There are none except those inscribed in the conscience of each. The right is practised, because the new home answers the wants of all and all respect the common good with which their own happiness is one. Frequent infractions of this natural rule would indicate imperfection in the material arrangements. Reform in these, not in the people, would be suggested. The cause must be removed if we would remove the effect.

Ameliorations of working-men's homes should be thus understood. They should not impose upon the individual the conceptions, more or less well reasoned, of the architect. He on the contrary, should study the architectural disposition that will respond to the exigencies of the natural wants of man.

Man is jealous of his liberty, even the liberty that dooms him to want and sorrow. Let us be careful how we do injury to this sentiment. It is a right that we may lose. However virtuous we are, we are but men and subject to err.

Man has a task to perform upon the earth, and we are too ignorant of the designs of the Creator to presume to violate the liberty of any person's life. Let us, then, use our personal liberty to realize the good that we know, *and see that good results from our acts* without compromising the liberty of others, and we shall have worthily contributed to the amelioration of the conditions of our fellow-man.

XLII. POLICE INTERIOR ORDER.

"But," they say, "laborers are not all at once little saints because they become members of the Familistère, and order must be maintained by some process. There must be rows, abuses, and noise to be suppressed; attacks upon the rights of others must be punished. Examples must be made of some to intimidate malefactors."

True, there are exceptions in all things, in the moral as in the physical world.

There are unworthy people in all classes of society, among laborers and the poor as among nobles and the rich. But the difference between these is that the poor are often lacking the necessities of life, and live from hand to mouth, while the rich have no favors to ask and have every wish gratified.

Let it be said to the honor of the laboring classes that criminals are rare among them, and true heroism common.

The prejudice, therefore, against this class must disappear from society, and also the belief that intimidation is necessary to govern them. The measures of justice that help to raise and encourage the sentiment of right among the weak are to-day the only ones that meet the wants of the times.

Severity and repression are nowhere so great as among savages and barbarians. Among these torture and death are common punishments for infringement of the law. The cruelty of the judge is a thousand times greater than that of the criminal.

People who are behind the times upon the subject of morals understand the triumph of right only by killing enemies, by reprisals, bloodshed, and carnage.

As civilization advances manners soften ; yet even to-day the great mistake in the punishments decreed by society is that they are illy proportioned to faults or derelictions, and have in themselves no moralizing character to exalt the dignity of the public, and still less to support or help the accused.

Will it be believed ? The greatest difficulty touching questions of order and morality in the Familistère has come from the police and their agents—the pretended maintainers of order outside !

The police and the repressive system generally intend to exercise their prerogatives ; they must have culprits. This is especially true under the Empire.

Of course it could not be admitted that the quiet, orderly Familistère, though having its own private existence, had the right to establish its interior police ; but this outside interference has been generally overcome, or in great part, by the simple force of inertia opposed to it. It is necessary to say, for the edification of those who believe laborers to be lawless and undisciplined, that there has not been one single police case in the Familistère since its foundation ; and yet the Palace has nine hundred inhabitants, while assemblages are frequent and large, and the relations between the members are of the most active kind.

The principal reason of the order and good conduct at the Familistère is that the life of each is known ; merit is honored and acknowledged, and disorderly acts are criticised by the whole people.

Those who commit acts militating against the peace or the interests of others commit them secretly, or in moments when they can avoid publicity.

Criticism of wrong committed is the much-dreaded moral penalty of the Familistère. When a disorderly act of any kind

is committed by one of the members, the fact, according to its gravity, is made the subject of a private note, or notice of it is posted without mentioning any names. Should the act be repeated or very reprehensible, the name of the offending member is given and a fine is imposed, varying from five centimes to five francs, which goes to the mutual relief fund. The notice is left posted a certain time, proportioned to the gravity of the offence for which the penalty is inflicted.

For graver offences, councils elected by general suffrage, like those which will be described in the following section, meet in a council of censure, to give a severer character to the rebuke, and to the publishing of the act more authority. This council can pronounce the suspension of the member, and demand his expulsion.

By as much as the individual rejoices in being inscribed in the rolls of honor, so he deplores the condemnation of his conduct, which places him among the offending. Nothing is so dreaded in the Familistère as being posted on the special bulletin (*tableau special*). The cases are rare. Each one strives to so act as to deserve well of his fellows.

Criticism is prompt and severe upon all acts prejudicial to the general interests of the people ; but the public conscience is not given to vigorous measures. The people are contented with judging and criticising. The sentiment of pardon and forgetting the offence dominates in all hearts.

Offences which could not be controlled in this way would be subject to the action of the law, and thus give occasion for the elimination of the member.

If the system of the Social Palace could be substituted for that of villages, there would be few offences to repress, few crimes to punish ; or, rather, there would be none ; follies of this nature would be considered as resulting from derangement of the mental functions, and would be treated as diseases.

XLIII. ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM.

The organization of the Familistère is a much more complete work than many of its visitors imagine. We will describe briefly its general mechanism, neglecting many details that might weary the reader.

An administrative commission is charged with the management of the industrial interests of the manufactory, and at the same time of the material interests of the Familistère. This

commission is chosen among the best educated and the most capable of the members. It meets at least once every week to discuss the interests of industry, and once to attend to provisioning and to all business of importance that the Familistère wishes to undertake.

This commission supervises and controls the operations of the palace, dividing the responsibilities among them, but delegating their execution to the functionary who takes the title of Steward of the Familistère (*Économe du Familistère*).

The stewardship orders all the provisions and merchandise required by the Palace. Their inspection and verification on arrival are under the supervision of the steward, assisted by persons attached to the various stores and shops who are interested in selling. A storehouse receives the goods and provisions that are not immediately distributed to the shops for retailing.

In the Familistère the service is divided into as many different functions as there are different operations to be performed, each numbering one or more functionaries according to the work to be done.

The stores and shops, and all the different functions, are entirely independent of each other. They have special account books, and methods of managing appropriate to each.

Each store, shop, and each service has an account open with the steward, who keeps a summary of the operations. Each is charged with the goods delivered to it, rent, payment of its clerks, interest on its capital, insurance, its part of the general expenses, wear and tear of material, etc., and it is credited with its sales and deliveries.

Every day the amount of the operations of each service and shop is carried to its respective credit, and all the services balance their accounts by profit or loss at each trial balance, according to the good or bad management during the week.

This division of operations permits partial verifications when and where deemed advisable, by which it can be seen how any special business is going, without waiting for the day of the final balance of accounts.

The functions of the different services of the Familistère call some seventy or eighty persons of its population to take an active part daily in the operations and services which benefit all the members.

The functions of the administrative commission of the Familistère are limited to the supervision of the material interests of the Palace—that is, of the management of the employees and of the progress of commercial and financial operations.

In regard to the management of the different institutions and societies in the Familistère, the Administrative Commission does not interfere except to give information, to pay the money contributed by the manufactory to the prevision fund, and for financial and book-keeping adjustments when there is occasion. Everything else is managed by committees elected by vote in the societies freely formed for the prosperity of the different institutions.

When the interests of labor are to be considered the committees are elected by all the laborers.

Each committee, thus chosen, proposes measures which are discussed, modified, and voted upon in the general assembly of the members of each society.

Thus operate in the Familistère and its manufactory the societies, corporations, and committees: of education, of relief, of prevision, of pharmacy, of medical care, of firemen, of music, of the theatre, of fêtes and amusements, of clubs, of the library, of labor claims, etc.

Elections are frequent at the Familistère, for the different societies generally think it best that their committees should be partially renewed every three months. Thus the societies are kept in working order, and emulation is maintained in the exercise of purely honorary functions and in acts of devotion devolving upon committees.

All the societies make their own rules, modify and change them, with perfect liberty.

A council of twelve members elected among the men and twelve elected among the women complete the elective bodies in the Familistère. These councils are nominated by universal suffrage of the electors of the Familistère. All are considered electors as soon as they arrive at an age when they are capable of supporting themselves by their labor, after leaving school. In the absence of this brevet of competence, the minimum age is fixed at sixteen years for both sexes.

Here I see the partisans of routine smile, and especially men who call themselves friends of right and liberty, yet who understand the enjoyment of these only as they are personally gainers thereby.

In the Familistère liberty and right are cherished for themselves, and by all. In this matter they make no sacrifice to custom or prejudice; consequently, women are not excluded from elective prerogatives. They show themselves at least as jealous of these prerogatives as the men do, and they are certainly more earnest in the exercise of them.

The functions of these councils are specially those of obser-

vation and suggestion. They have no set duties of any kind. Both have perfect liberty of discussion, and consequently may attend to the same questions. It is perfectly consistent with the nature of these councils that one should assume a more useful rôle than the other.

Nevertheless, their aptitudes and natural tendencies are different. The council of men attends rather to questions touching amelioration in labor, measures of prevision, distribution, and the organization of fêtes. The council of women attends rather to domestic economy, the qualities of the supplies sold in the Familistère, cleanliness and hygiene, care given to the children, matters touching the laundries and wash-houses, and all ameliorations in household matters.

These councils unite when they deem it necessary. They influence measures of order, they give their advice upon the course of operations in the Familistère, and they receive notice of the results of the balance of accounts and of the general investments made for the benefit of the Familistère.

They make full reports of their proceedings, and from these reports the Administrative Commission takes suggestions for its management.

The councils are the arbiters of important questions of order, and pronounce upon acts militating against confraternity or the good order of the Familistère; and particularly upon the causes which may induce the dismissal of a member.

They decide upon the encouragements to be given to individual merit in the manufactory and the Familistère; they note the zeal and exactitude as well as the carelessness and negligence of functionaries.

Finally, the councils are a lever of moral influence, serving the general and regular performance of duties in the Palace, and a useful element in its administration.

XLIV. THE SOVEREIGN POWER.

The question that I touch here is not the least important one to be solved now, when all the elements of society are in process of transformation. The materials for constructing authority, especially, present to the observer a confused and scattered condition.

Yet the Social Palace offers us, united in a true solidarity, all the elements of associative life which, heretofore, have re-

mained separated and without any real bond uniting them. It shows us those elements constituting a homogeneous, autonomous society, having its own individual constitution and life; and yet we have not yet seen what power gives the impulsion to this society, nor what principle assures its direction and its continuance.

The necessity of assuring the stability of the directing power occurs more often, perhaps, to the minds of those who visit the Familistère than to any others. Seeing the order, the arrangement, and the working of this institution, many say to me: "What will become of this work when you are gone? Your son may be inspired by your sentiments, but he is mortal like you, and one can foresee that the fate of inheritance may put an incapable or an unworthy person in your place; then bad management will bring disorder and ruin."

See how people, who find it very natural that the fate of nations should be delivered up to the hazard of hereditary power, make this very principle an objection to the Familistère, and thus unwittingly show that hereditary succession is impotent to perpetuate a sovereign power capable of maintaining the harmony and prosperity of any society whatever.

These persons do not reflect much upon individual fortunes, fluctuations, and vicissitudes, which they consider as the accidents of life, but they are struck by the idea of reverse of fortune when the victims are a thousand persons living tranquilly and happily under the wing of an organization which protects their rights and assures their future. In a case like this, the partisans of hereditary succession would not like to see the fate of an entire association confided to incapacity, which they know might happen by the chances of inheritance. Thus the system, for the Social Palace, is condemned even by its most zealous partisans.

In fact, hereditary governing power is condemned by facts, in view of the needs that industry has created in modern society. Too often the ignorant or dissipated son is incapable of continuing the management of a skilful father; and often, with children who are meritorious, their different tastes and aptitudes are an obstacle to the regular continuance of business.

Nature, moreover, in no way sanctions authority based upon inheritance; for if she did, kings and princes would always be, in all respects, the most capable and the most worthy of governing the people. History would not remind us of kings and princes called *debonnair*, lazy, simple, foolish, cruel, wicked, counterfeiter, debauchés, etc. It would not recall so

many tyrants and oppressors issued from princely families ; so many turpitudes and crimes which shame their memory.

Nature in all time has completely ignored hereditary claims, while, by the side of these notorious incapacities and even of princely and royal monstrosities, she has lavished among the People the Genius of their Regeneration.

But if the tradition of inheritance is little respected in the minds of the people as a legitimate principle of administration ; if it is established that it is incapable of serving the durable organization of the government of human affairs, and even proved contrary to the natural permanent right which each should enjoy in public matters—contrary, therefore, to the true principle of the legitimacy of power, even when this power is tempered by institutions for the good of all—then still more should absolute power in government be the object of universal protest. This, indeed, is the fate reserved for it in the misery that has followed every despotism, every tyranny. Modern society deplores all arbitrary governments, but especially those which leave the destiny of all to the caprice of one.

But though it is true that authority founded by brute force or by inheritance is doomed to disappear from human society, it is also true that the means to bring the most worthy into authority have not yet been organized even in free governments.

The reason is, that the true sovereign power has not yet been defined. Man, in fact, has thought to attribute this right to himself, and, puffed with pride, has gone from error to error, evil to evil, fall to fall, socially as well as politically. He has neglected to recognize that above human sovereignty is Divine sovereignty : the sovereignty of the Laws of Nature—of the Laws of Life. He has neglected to recognize that *human rules should not, and cannot, be other than the practical expressions of natural laws*. Finally, he has neglected to see that instead of being the principle of sovereignty he is nothing but its agent.

It is under the empire of this double error, the misunderstanding of the sovereignty of natural laws and the usurpation of their sovereign power, that man has fallen into political errors in the midst of which society gropes its way.

Despite this, as nature has never distinguished men among themselves, except by the differences of their merits, their talents, and their genius, it is consistent with logic and reason, and also with the facts of science—to conclude that nature leaves to the universality of mankind the care of distinguish-

ing the most meritorious and capable among them in order to confide to them the direction of social interests.

I generalize, and make no distinction between small and great communities, and hereafter consider as communities manufactories, factories, and all enterprises where men work together for a common interest ; and I propose it as an absolute principle that, from the day when the constitution and form of the government of labor and of the interests of an enterprise like that of the Familistère and its manufactory, or even of a simple manufactory, shall be resolved and give complete present satisfaction to all the parties interested and respond to all the previsions of the future—from that day the true system of government for the community and the State will be also resolved. And, further, the definite solution of the government of nations will not be found until the interests of labor and capital are reconciled in society.

We must, therefore, favor the spirit of association between labor and capital ; encourage the application of the principle as the only means of conciliating the rights of all. Workmen must become partners ; each laborer must recover his natural part of the social sovereignty, and this sovereignty must always give the management to the most intelligent, capable, and the most devoted to the general interests.

Thus will human enterprises and institutions be sustained and perpetuated for the benefit of succeeding generations, and thus the difficult problem of governing people will be solved.

But we have not yet solved this problem.

If personal power is truly to be considered as a stepping-stone to tyranny and despotism ; if hereditary authority is without legitimate value for directing and commanding ; if the whole body of voters may be misled—the sovereignty of the public mind be mistaken—where is the true social rule ? Where are the legitimate authorities ? Where shall we find the legitimate sovereignty ?

According to the principles of the doctrine of Life exposed in Chapter XII. of this volume, we reply :

The *legitimate sovereignty* is confided by nature to the universality of individuals, because all are subordinate to her laws, all owe respect and recognition to these laws, and all should protect and apply them.

No one can be completely robbed of his rights without perishing, nor partially, without suffering ; therefore all have a vital interest in the respect of natural law, and *all are constituted its guardians.*

Nature has thus established the sovereignty of the individual by according to each a part of the commonwealth.

The first legitimate power of any society is in the totality of its members, and all the powers emanating from this are but mandatory and subordinate.

Legitimate powers belong essentially to the collectivity of interests which they embrace. Their mandates are precise, determined, and by that, essentially temporary and subject to the judgment and control of the sovereign power from which they emanate.

In a society or association where respect for the Laws of Life rules, authority will fall to men whose merit and whose love for their kind will be recognized by universal suffrage.

The true social rule that humanity should ever follow has always been, is, and will forever be, subordinate to the *Laws of Nature*, sole and only legitimate sovereigns.

If we recall that the morality of nations, like that of individuals, has three supreme laws :

The Preservation and Support of Human Life ;

The Development and Progress of Human Life ;

The Equilibrium and Harmony of Human Life ;

If we recognize that it is impossible to assign to morality and to government a higher end, we shall recognize also that the sovereign power devolving upon man has its natural limits, beyond which it falls into abuse and ceases to be legitimate, like all human actions when they infringe nature's laws.

It is proper, then, to define, in a more exact manner, the legitimate limit of the sovereign authority in society, and of the powers that this authority constitutes in society to watch over the government of the interests of all.

In the law of the equilibrium and harmony of life is the source of the political and social needs of man ; but we have to demonstrate that the end of these wants or needs is to show themselves the interpreters of the sovereign intention of the natural law.

It is therefore that all are born with faculties that impel them to the desire to participate in the commonwealth—to supervise their part of the common interest.

I shall demonstrate the existence of these faculties in my treatise on moral, religious, and political solutions ; but their existence is already proved by the interest, and often by the enthusiasm, with which men discuss public affairs.

The moral and social faculties of man, because inherent in his nature, create the desire of participating in the govern-

ment of the society of which he is a member. This desire constitutes the right, which is as imprescriptible, and also as alienable, as that for food and shelter.

Each member in society taking part in the material effort should also take part in the sovereign will; hence the permanent sovereign right of the people to choose the men most worthy to direct their interests, and to dismiss those who show incapacity.

The right of sovereignty, then, exists by the will of nature and by the logic of human things. This right emanates from the superior faculties of human intelligence, through whose mission the law of life in humanity will be broadly accomplished when men shall have understood this law.

The foundation of the right of suffrage, as of all legitimate rights of man, being natural law, this right is permanent in the individual and in successive generations. It is imprescriptible, so that the acts of the sovereign power to-day have no value for to-morrow, unless these are in accord with the legitimate rights which the members of the sovereign body hold from nature.

It is, therefore, by an abusive interpretation of sovereign right that men, believing in the hypocrisy of national sovereignty and universal suffrage, have pretended that universal suffrage could sanction the usurpation of the sovereignty, impose silence upon itself, and put the exercise of the power indefinitely into the hands of one individual, or many.

Universal suffrage cannot delegate to its representatives, nor loan any power that it institutes, any but a temporary existence—for any function, except that of being the interpreter of the right of all; but neither the mandates of the sovereign power, nor those selected by suffrage, can arrogate to themselves the right to violate the fundamental rights that man holds from nature, or to restrict his enjoyment of them.

There are contracts whose iniquity shocks the human conscience, even when they are clothed with all the legal forms of consent. For example, no one to-day will admit that a man may sell himself to another as a slave; and yet a man is no more master of himself than he is of the rights of others; but life is a right that he holds from nature. It is inalienable.

We have shown in Chapter XIV. ("Elements of Production") that man has no right to alienate anything except the products of his activity; what he holds from nature is inalienable. Therefore he cannot abuse his own existence, nor that which constitutes the essential part of his existence, without committing an illegitimate act—a crime in the eyes of the Creator;

and for a much stronger reason is he without the legitimate power to alienate the rights which others hold from nature.

The sovereignty is embraced here. Our fathers, animated by a higher inspiration, declared it inalienable ; but it belongs to us to-day to define the true principle of sovereignty, to show its limits, and to demonstrate its inalienability. Reason must complete the work of our fathers, and proclaim in a not distant future that every natural right of man is imprescriptible and inalienable.

The sovereignty or social power being placed in the totality of individuals, it follows that for unity of action the mass should delegate its authorities. Hence the organization of the suffrage—that is, the proper combination to distinguish the men to whom the affairs of government should be given and those from whom it should be withdrawn ; for the sovereign power joins to the faculty of electing its functionaries that of divesting them of authority. The social interest also requires that the direction should be submitted to the appreciation of the sovereign body at determined intervals ; consequently every mandate of the sovereign power should be limited to just the time necessary for this appreciation.

Nature assigns a period for the renewal of almost all the operations of human activity. This period is the year. Each year the sovereign people should assemble, after each session of its representatives, to consider whether the powers that it has conferred have been well used, and to correct errors by changing its officers as the interests of all may require.

The greatest trouble with human rulers has been the belief that they were impeccable, and to wish to perpetuate themselves in contempt of the rights of the people. On the contrary, political and social powers are in fact very limited, since the sovereignty of the people is itself subordinate to the respect due to the laws of nature. Beyond these limits all powers degenerate into arbitrary rule or into despotism, no matter whether the power be that of the individual governing his own acts, or of a society directing its own interests, or the power of the majority of a nation governing the State.

The sovereignty of number itself, when in opposition to natural right, cannot legitimately impose its decrees ; it cannot prevent truth from being true, justice from being just ; consequently, when this power is misled into contemning natural laws and divine reason, it is no longer the sovereignty, but the tyranny of force, the despotism of the majority, and may be as unjust to the minority as the despotism of one or several.

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r victims in success as in failure, and the most culpable often those who suffer least.

History will judge this day and reserve an honorable place to those inspired with pity for all misfortunes. God will give much to those who have been forgiving.

How is the light of truth to enter these misguided souls? It is difficult to tell when darkness overshadows all.

O Men! Will you never understand that your political actions are but the blindness of ignorance, and that if you possessed the truth, harmony would establish itself among you?

Ask you, who possess wealth and intelligence: Have you seen, and are you doing, all you can for social salvation? And you, intelligent laborers, have you done, and are you now doing all in your power for the improvement of your condition? I answer, no! I say to the former, You have made the war and are helping its continuance. To both I ask: have we not suffered enough? Are not our wounds sufficiently deep, our sorrows sufficiently terrible to make us hereafter avoid civil war?

We shall find our disasters great enough if we stop to examine them. There is no reform nor social amelioration that can be conceived which could compensate for the evil done to France by these wars.

The wealth squandered is sufficient to have destroyed the empire from the face of civilization—to make France a desolated land instead of a home of desolation, and to establish there perpetual harmony among all classes of society.

And what remedy is there for the evils of war? So great is the madness of all minds that the greater part of those who twenty years ago were apostles of peace see to-day nothing to do but prepare anew for war.

Strongholds and fortifications have but served to prolong the struggle and to still further ruin the country without proving or defending anything. Will they then demolish the strongholds of war? No, they will build new walls and new fortifications!

Hassepoets, mitrailleuses, cannon, and all the engines of war, have served only to impoverish France. Will the country then renounce the making of engines of war? No. New and more terrible ones will be invented.

Armies have destroyed or mutilated the fairest men of France and Germany; devastated our fairest provinces and

thrown the progress of the world centuries behind. Will the government therefore cease to force the people into the exercise of arms? No. We shall see the army reorganized and France become a soldiers' camp. And will France and Europe still find resources to carry on the impious work of destruction—none to organize the peace of the world?

This is not the inmost sentiment of the people. They have an intuition of the grand things that might have been done for their good by these squandered billions.

The last Empire, under the pretext of glorifying France, has squandered in war expenses 10,000,000,000 francs. The famous "armed peace," that was to be our security, and which led on this frightful war with Prussia, cost us two of our noblest provinces—Alsace and Lorraine:

	Francs.
Cost, at a rough estimate.....	10,000,000,000
In devastations.....	2,000,000,000
War indemnity.....	5,000,000,000
War expenses.....	2,000,000,000
In the destruction of industries corporative and private, damages by stopping work, general losses in production, losses of the revenue from capital and taxes.....	- 8,000,000,000
Total.....	27,000,000,000

This stupendous sum lost under the vain pretext of making a strong government! Strength ruins the nations!

What might not have been done with this enormous capital for the peace of the world, the happiness of humanity, for the eternal glory of France, if a government comprehending the destiny of the world had inaugurated the era of peace instead of the era of war and the corruption of the moral sense of the nation?

Let each one compute in his own way the prodigious results that wise leaders, animated by the love of humanity, might have obtained with this lost treasure. Let those who comprehend progress only as measured by the direct creation of wealth say to themselves: "With these twenty-seven billions of francs (over five thousand millions of dollars) France could have built 90,000 kilometres (over 55,000 miles) of

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ble-track railways, with all the stock for working. This would be more than five times the extent that France now has. It would give every hamlet its station, and all the factories and workshops necessitated by rapid transport. The land is covered with a network of railways which would be increased in value and bring fertility and life.

I cannot stop to enumerate the material results that would follow, such as the opening of waters to navigation, the digging of canals, irrigation, opening and working of mines, &c. The conclusion to be drawn is, that France can, when she chooses, work prodigies in the way of progress, instead of sacrificing all to the stupendous imbecility of war.

I will now say to those who, on the contrary, do not believe in progress except through intellectual and moral development, that with these twenty-seven billions all our communes could have been endowed with 675,000 francs for every thousand inhabitants; and with this sum France could have constructed in each commune an important edifice adequate to the integral education of all the children.

As this last suggestion is more directly connected with my subject, that is to say, with architectural reform in view of association, I will say, further:

With these twenty-seven billions there might have been constructed more than four millions of houses, each worth from 6,000 to 7,000 francs. This would represent 20,000 communes rebuilt on a scientific plan and comprising, of course, all necessary public buildings.

But those who have followed attentively the practical developments contained in this book will understand that these 20,000 communes might be 20,000 palaces, making the homes of 20,000,000 of people. The palaces, surrounded by highly cultivated lands, manufactures, and model farms, would have made France the most prosperous, the most intelligent, and the most independent nation of the earth; while now, under the curse of war, France has become a land of devastations, of suffering, and poverty.

O France! Must we despair of her future? Must we believe her doomed to eternal wars at home and abroad? No. Despite the present evil hour, France is yet to inaugurate the era of peace on the earth, and this grand work will make her the field of new glories which will maintain her in the first rank of nations.

To this end she will tear down the fortifications of Paris,

which have served only to ruin her and hinder the growth of her liberties ; she will fill up the moats of all her forts and destroy their walls ; she will destroy all her arms of war, even to the last fragment. She will disband all her armies, preserving only a civic guard, whose uselessness will one day call for the disunion of that also.

Instead of organizing war, she will organize labor ; instead of employing fine intelligences in the unproductive creation of war to serve the genius of evil and destruction, all her forces will be consecrated to prosperous labor.

France will have no more to fear from outside enemies when engaged in this work of regeneration, for other nations will have no ambition but to imitate her ; and if some insensate king should dream of troubling her pacific labors, the people would be all on her side, for they wait from one side of the world to the other for the social emancipation which it is her mission to accomplish.

France will have no enemies at home when the love of justice, duty, and right, according to the Laws of Life, shall inspire those who are charged with the government of her glorious destiny.

Peace will reign, and all Frenchmen will be brothers of one country, united by the recognition of all rights, by the practice of all duties, and by the application of justice in the home of true liberty.

Believe me, men of all parties, I have sounded the depths of society, and I have learned its secrets. If I demand justice for the disinherited, for myself, I have nothing to envy wealth or fortune. Fate has been so kind that I have nothing to ask of any power on the earth, unless it be the right to tell the truth. Believe me, rich and poor, I have been disinterested in the questions I have examined in this book. I love all men from the bottom of my heart, but I give my fullest sympathies to those who suffer. Do as I have done, you who have the power. Social salvation is at stake.

While waiting for the light to enter men's hearts, men who have it already, unite your efforts, in the name of social regeneration, in a new league of peace, founded upon the solidarity of labor and capital, upon the association of all the elements of production, and upon the equitable participation of the laborer in the benefits of wealth.

And you, wealthy and powerful, whose hearts are right, but who despair of the salvation of France, I appeal to you : Recognize the Law of Life. Let us unite. Let us extend our

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s to the laborer, and inaugurate, by the force of example, reign of peace on the earth.

orkers of all degrees, laborers, artisans, artists, agriculturists, men of science—all in whom the sentiment of better conditions awakens violent desires for justice, unite with us. Guided by the laws of life, let us organize labor and capital, realize the peace of the earth. Come with the singleness of heart that belongs to you, to accomplish the sacred task—the Redemption of France and Humanity.

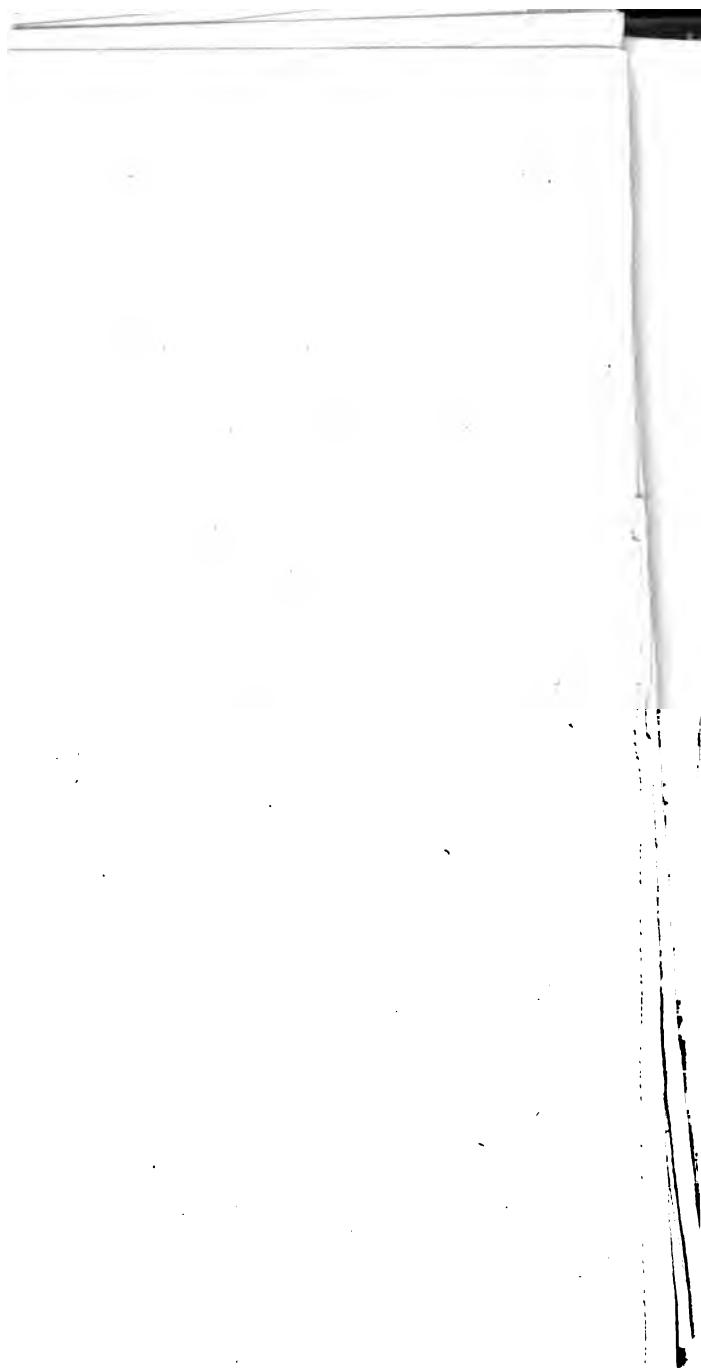
FINIS.

PREFACE TO THE ADDENDA.

THE FAMILISTÈRE AT GUISE, FRANCE.

THIS condensed statement of the latest results of the Familistère at Guise is translated by M. Prétat from an extra issue of the *Devoir*, the organ of the Familistère, intended to be used for the dissemination of the knowledge of the results of this association of labor and capital. It gives a detailed account of the construction and organization of this practical solution of the labor question, and was written by M. Deynaud, the Steward of the Familistère. It is a most suggestive and convincing exhibit of the method for organizing industry, and should be used in the organization of the co-operative colony, enlisted by the *Crédit Foncier of Sinaloa*, as a hand-book for their guidance, in their settlement upon Topolobampo Bay, in Sinaloa, Mexico. Though this example has met with no imitator in Europe, it is hoped that the settlement in Sinaloa may be enabled by the earnest and persistent promulgation of its socialistic organization to have some influence in calling attention to the suicidal policy now so ignorantly practised by the party in power here.

EDWARD HOWLAND.



ADDENDA.

THE LAST OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE FAMILISTÈRE.

This statement was prepared by M. Deynaud, the *économiste* of the Familistère, and gives the last official statement of the organization and working of the Association. It should be carefully studied by all manufacturers and workmen who are dissatisfied with the workings of the wages system.

THE FAMILISTÈRE AS IT IS TO-DAY.

(Translated from *Le Devoir* of March 30, 1884.)

THE object of this exceptional number of the *Devoir* is to call public attention to the information resulting from the positive, tangible results obtained in four years at the Familistère of Guise, a society based upon the association of labor and capital. The participation by labor of profits in this short period is thus distributed :

	France.
Shares of stock acquired by the workers	1,969,000
Interests and profits on these shares	135,000
Expenses of general insurance	312,000
Expenses of education and teaching	100,000
Total	2,566,000

It is to be observed that the workers of the Familistère have not had to undergo any standing still ; that their wages have been constantly superior to those of the workers in other industries of the locality ; that the 1,200 inhabitants of the Social Palace have enjoyed all the advantages of the unitary habitation—the Familistère.

The portion given to labor has been obtained without sacrificing the remuneration of capital. Indeed, before granting any profit to labor, the capital brought by M. Godin receives also its wages, the legal interest of five per cent. Since the foundation of the society M. Godin has received, at an average, after the division of profits, an annual income of six per cent. on the capital intrusted to the association of the Familistère, without counting his position as manager, and, therefore, his participation in the profits as worker. The income of creditors of the State, or of the owners of railroad shares, or of the *Crédit Foncier*, of Paris, France, are comparatively much lower.

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If M. Godin had proceeded differently, by doing an act of exaggerated disinterestedness, he would not have attained the aim he had in view. It would have been objected that it was not rational to present, as an example to be imitated by all, an act in which abnegation and generosity should have a decisive action.

The interest upon shares of stock, the expenses of the mutualty and of teaching, amounted to 597,000 francs.

This sum, expended in the Familistère in objects of first necessity, has provided employment for a greater number of hands than if it had been employed in investments or expended in luxuries, as it would have been in competitive industry.

This remark has great importance in a social point of view. We have in France 12,333 times more population than the beneficiary group of the institutions of the Familistère; if each fraction of the population of France numbering 3,000 inhabitants had enjoyed, during four years, analogous advantages, there would have been in our country an increase of consumption of products of first necessity equivalent to 7,322,000,000 francs. This is more than would be necessary to avoid present suffering and all dark anxieties of the future; for the laboring classes have never thought of revolt when provided with steady and remunerative employment.

The institutions of the Familistère can become general, one by one, when statesmen rise to the needs of their time. They form a unity at the Familistère, because the founder wished to endow that institution with a complete mechanism. He has taken, as his charge, the institutions of insurance and education, which ought to be supported by the social community. It would be easy for the State to procure the necessary resources to establish these bases of social reforms—the extinction of pauperism and ignorance—should it become the inheritor of all successions in proportion to the aid afforded by natural wealth, natural advantages, and public services, in the building up of such successions.

The Familistère de Guise was not founded upon the inspiration of a narrow philanthropy. It is not only to save from pauperism a few thousands of working-people that M. Godin has laid this grand foundation; he designed to give to the world a practical example of the possibility of social harmony growing out of the union of interests according to the *Laws of Life*.

The co-operation of labor and capital is no longer a Utopia; its laws are found and applied. They impose no sacrifice on any of the parties. Men of good-will cannot refuse to apply them.

THE FAMILISTÈRE OF GUISE.

THE BUILDING OF THE FAMILISTÈRE.

The word "Familière" was invented by M. Godin to designate the unitary palace-homes which this innovator has founded at Guise, for the workers whom he has associated with him in his fortune.

This word will be applied in future to all associations putting, as this one of Guise does, the equivalents of wealth within reach of all citizens by the following means:

Uniting a certain number of families in comfortable premises, especially organized to secure of the well-being of the inhabitants; and for the easy performance of the public services necessary to satisfy the needs of human life;

Organizing mutual insurance for the benefit of the sick, invalids, the old, widows, orphans, and all persons or families whose resources do not guarantee them the necessities for subsistence;

Providing everything of usual consumption for the benefit of the inhabitants;

Offering to the population recreations indispensable to the moral and physical health;

Organizing the complete education and instruction of children, girls and boys, until apprenticeship;

Placing the homes of the workers in proximity to the workshop, in order to enable them to get to their work without fatigue;

In fine, to render association easy: to distribute equitably, between the several productive factors, the industrial and commercial benefits of the association, and to provide for the continued transmission of the social property to the active workers.

From the experiences at Guise the conclusion is reached (considering the organization of the general services of mutual insurance, education of children, etc.), that the unitary group will obtain its maximum results with a population of 1,500 to

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The following tables show the state of the *personnel* of the association during the industrial crisis of 1884 :

RATES OF WAGES.

CLERKS, MALE AND FEMALE, BY THE MONTH.					WORKING MEN AND WOMEN AND APPRENTICES EVERY TWO WEEKS.			
Salaries by the Month.	At Factory.	At Familistère.	At Schools.	Totals.	Wages per Fortnight.	At Factory.	At Familistère.	Totals.
Francs.					Francs.			
50 to 100	24	25	10	59	15 to 25	129	14	143
01 to 125	17	4	..	21	20 to 30	66	4	70
26 to 150	21	1	1	23	31 to 40	199	3	202
51 to 175	12	1	..	13	41 to 50	276	6	282
76 to 200	10	3	3	16	51 to 60	185	1	186
01 to 250	8	1	2	11	61 to 70	121	..	121
51 to 300	2	1	..	3	71 to 80	76	..	76
01 to 400	6	1	..	7	81 to 90	24	..	24
01 to 500	3	..	..	3	91 to 100	8	..	8
01 and over	2	..	..	2	101 and over	2	..	2
	105	36	16	158		1,146	28	1,174

TABLE SHOWING TIME OF SERVICE IN THE MANUFACTORY, ETC.

CLERKS.					WORKMEN AND WOMEN.				
Time.	At Factory.	At Familistère.	At Schools.	Totals.	Time.	At Factory.	At Familistère.	At Schools.	Totals.
Less than one year	12	15	6	33	Less than one year	68	7	..	75
2 years	9	3	3	15	2 years	73	..	..	73
3 years	11	4	..	15	3 years	129	..	..	129
4 years	11	2	1	14	4 years	111	3	..	114
5 years	3	1	1	5	5 years	51	..	..	53
5 to 10 years	13	5	1	19	5 to 10 years	142	2	..	144
0 to 15 years	24	3	4	31	10 to 15 years	177	4	..	181
5 to 20 years	3	..	..	3	15 to 20 years	184	5	..	189
5 to 25 years	1	..	..	1	20 to 25 years	106	3	..	109
5 years and over	1	..	..	1	25 years and over	106	2	..	108

ASSOCIATION OF CAPITAL AND LABOR, OR PARTICIPATION IN PROFITS.

In most societies based on the participation of labor in the profits of industry, the share of labor has been decided in a more or less arbitrary manner, and always by an empirical method.

M. Godin has thus formulated the law of participation of each one of the factors of production: *Every element of production must participate in all profits in proportion to the service it has rendered.*

Then he has come to the conclusion that three factors concur in the production of all wealth.

(1) The land and the resources furnished by nature, joined to the gratuitous utilities of society.

(2) The active labor of individuals.

(3) And capital, or economized labor—a passive agent.

The resources given by nature and those of society constitute the rights of the weak. It is in the name of these resources that society must insure the existence of all its members.

The active labor constitutes the right of the worker to the benefits produced by his work.

Capital, passive work, constitutes the right of the lender to the remuneration of the service rendered.

Such are the fundamental principles upon which the association of the Familistère is founded.

Having noticed that the services of capital engaged in a business received a determined interest, represented by a certain amount of francs; that, on the other side, the workers received wages, represented also by a certain number of francs—and these sums then expressing the aid afforded by each of these factors—M. Godin was led scientifically to the conclusion that the share of profits belonging equitably to each of these elements, capital and labor, ought to be proportional to the number of francs paid to each of them—in interest to capital, in wages to labor. Thus in industries in which twice, three times, four times, ten times more is paid in wages to labor than in interest to capital, the share of profits belonging to labor must be twice, three times, four times, ten times larger, and inversely.

At the Familistère of Guise, labor's share of profits is eight times greater than that of capital, because the total of the annual wages is 1,888,000 francs, while the interest of the social capital does not exceed 230,000 francs.

The share belonging to labor being thus established, the individual division is easy, since each one has a right proportional to that which he has received during the year in wages or in interest.

But in founding this association M. Godin found himself in the presence of workmen and clerks who had given ten, twenty, twenty-five years and more, of good services, and thus contributed to the building of his fortune. He saw, also, skilful workmen whose tasks were executed in more favorable and profitable conditions than those of new-comers or less careful workers. Wishing to recognize these long-continued services and capacities, M. Godin created the following categories, in which are distributed the beneficiaries of the Familistère's institutions :

1. The *Associates*, 68 persons.
2. The *Partners*, 95 persons.
3. The *Participants*, 573 persons.
4. The *Auxiliaries*, 258 persons.
5. The *Interested*, 286 persons.

The Associates must be at least twenty-five years of age ; must have resided at least five years in the buildings of the Familistère ; must have participated for the same length of time in the works and operations that are the object of the association ; must know how to read and write ; must possess a part of the social stock of the value of at least five hundred francs ; and they must be admitted by the General Assembly of Associates.

The Associates are the *élite*, and form the nucleus of the association, and compose the General Assembly of the association. The statutes provide that the Associates participate in the distribution on the basis of double their salary.

The Partners are the members of the association who fulfil the following conditions : must be at least twenty-one years of age ; free from military duty in the active army ; must have worked for the association at least three years ; inhabit the Social Palace ; and be admitted by the Council of Administration and by the General Manager.

Partners participate on a basis of once and a half of their salaries or wages.

Participants must fulfil the following conditions : must be at least twenty-one years of age and free from military duty in the active army ; must have worked for the association for at least one year ; and must be admitted by the Council of Administration and by the General Manager.

Participants share in the distribution on the basis of the amount of salaries or wages they have received.

Auxiliaries comprise all those who work in any manner for the association outside of the preceding categories. They do not participate directly in the distribution of profits, but have a right to the general benefits, relief funds, etc.

The factors of production, estimated as has just been described, are brought together at the end of each term, and they share the seventy-five per cent. of profits remaining after twenty-five per cent. is assigned to the administration and the councils.

The dividends accruing to each of the stockholders are converted into certificates of deposit, and the money that these certificates represent is destined to refund the capital advanced by the founder.

The total profit on the work of the Auxiliaries is paid into the funds of insurances, of pensions, etc.

The Interested are those who hold, only by inheritance, purchase, or any other way, shares of the social capital.

There are also a certain number of young people, sons of members of the society, in favor of whom the association creates a particular position ; in view of early interesting them in the general prosperity of the Familistère.

They have an account with the association, and are credited yearly the same as participants ; but it is understood that they shall be put in possession of their certificates of deposit only in case they come back to work in the Familistère, after their time of service in the active army.

As fast as the workers become their own capitalists, they acquire for themselves the advantages accorded to capital ; they participate proportionally to the total of their savings and of their salaries.

As to the twenty-five per cent. of the profits accorded to talent and to the administrative capacity, it has been determined by the following motives.

Taking in consideration the everyday facts demonstrating that among similar industries, equally well provided with tools, capital, and instruments of work, getting the raw material from the same supply, recruiting their employes in the same localities, and disposing of their products in the same markets, some go to ruin, others to success and fortune in a few years, M. Godin has concluded that prosperous enterprises owe their success to the only element, which is not common to all these industries, viz. : the directing element, or talent ; and, wishing to establish a durable foundation, capable of strug-

gling victoriously in the midst of wild competition ; he has secured to that element a participation equivalent to its greater importance in the facts, by allowing it an exceptional part of the profits.

The Familistère of Guise allows twenty-five per cent. of the profits to the managing and administrative talent ; this twenty-five per cent. is divided thus : Twelve per cent. to the general manager, nine per cent. to the members of the Board of Directors, two per cent. to the Board of Supervisors, and two per cent. at the disposition of the Board of Directors, to reward exceptional services.

When M. Godin, in 1880, definitively constituted the Society of the Familistère of Guise, by articles of incorporation, he had already put in practice, during some years, a savings account for the benefit of the most faithful workmen ; at the foundation of the association he converted these savings into stock certificates. They amounted to 172,000 francs ; and the reserve fund of the divers insurances was 90,000 francs.

At present the workers possess, by their dividends, 1,969,-000 francs of the social capital.

It can be foreseen that, in a short time, the workers of the Familistère will have become owners of the totality of the social capital. It must not be lost sight of that, from their normal progress, the reserves and the endowment provided for by the Constitution of the Association of the Familistère, will amount to about two millions of francs in seven or eight years.

At that time M. Godin will have been reimbursed for all his advances, and the Association of the Familistère will possess an actual capital of 6,000,000 francs, without counting the value of the floating capital.

Such results render unnecessary any comment on the character of the man, Godin, and the value of the method he follows.

The following table shows the financial situation of the members of the Association on June 30, 1883 :

TABLE OF CERTIFICATES OF STOCK ACQUIRED BY THE PARTICIPATION OF LABOR.

No. of Shares.	Value of Shares.	Total Value.	Average Value.
133	of 100 fr. and less.	10,426 fr.	78
188	101 to 500 fr.	52,840 "	281
167	501 to 1,000 "	182,662 "	794
318	1,001 to 5,000 "	706,010 "	2,220
12	5,001 to 10,000 "	83,631 "	6,969
2	10,001 to 15,000 "	22,231 "	11,115
4	25,001 to 50,000 "	131,941 "	32,985
3	above 50,000 "	829,508 "	*
827		1,969,249 fr.	

MUTUALITY ; GENERAL INSURANCES.

The mutuality, established in the name of the resources afforded by nature and society, is organized in a complete manner in the Familistère. Its divisions correspond to the general wants of individuals. The services rendered by it to the members of the Association, rise far above all that theorists have foreseen ; and promise, in a very short time, a complete security to about five hundred families inhabiting the Familistère palaces, and to insure the morrow to all outside laborers of the Association.

The institutions of mutual insurance form four divisions :

1. Insurance of the necessities of life and retiring pensions.
2. Insurance against sickness ; male section.
3. Insurance against sickness ; female section.
4. Pharmacy fund.

Since July 1, 1880, the amount disbursed by the different insurance services has amounted to 264,467 francs .07 centimes. The greater part of this fund comes from an assessment passed to the general expenses of the manufactory ; that is to say, from resources which in ordinary enterprises go to increase the profits of the capitalist.

All the insurances are managed by special committees,

* In the number of certificates of over fifty thousand francs, is included the reserve fund, for pensions and relief.

elected by the votes of the parties interested. The members of these committees are remunerated according to the time they devote to the service.

Insurance of the Necessaries of Life.—This insurance, in favor of the most needy families, is not an empirical application permitting favoritism and leaving the distribution to the discretion of "bosses" or to influential persons.

An (index) table inserted in the by-laws, indicates (from the value of provisions of first necessity) what is the cost of the necessities of life for old people, adults, and children, according to age. When a family does not receive a total of wages equivalent to the total cost of these necessities the association pays the difference.

The daily rate minimum is fixed as follows :

	fr. ct.
To a widower or a widow head of family.....	1 50
To a widow without family	1 00
To an invalid male in a family.....	1 00
To a woman.....	75
To young people over 16 years of age each.....	1 00
To young people from 14 to 16 years.....	75
To children from 2 to 14 years of age.....	50
To children less than 2 years.	25
These last have, besides this, a right to the nursery.	

This insurance is the consecration of the Right to Life ; a primal right, before which crumbles all the phraseology of politicians who have lived since 1789 on the declaration of the "Rights of Man," and who refuse to see that those immortal principles become "Utopian" only when legislators refuse to them the sanction of material support.

Insurance of pensions. Pensions are granted after long services in the Association or after accidents followed by incapacity to work.

Here is the minimum tariff from which are calculated the rates of pensions.

For men :

	fr. ct.
After 15 years of service (per day).....	1 00
" 20 " " "	1 50
" 25 " " "	2 00
" 30 " " "	2 50

For women :

	fr. ct.
After 15 years of service (per day).....	75
" 20 " " "	1 00
" 25 " " "	1 22
" 30 " " "	1 50

In practice most of the pensioners receive pensions superior to these minima.

When a factory accident causes incapacity to work, no consideration is taken of the years of service ; the pension is the same as the one granted after twenty years of service ; if the victim of such accident counts more than fifteen years of service, the pension is calculated as if he or she had thirty years of service.

The fund for insurance of the necessities of life and of pensions, is maintained by a payment of two per cent. of the total of salaries paid by the association, and by the profits accorded the work of the auxiliaries. The total of the expenses of these services thus far, the last three terms, was 91,426 francs 15 centimes. The number of pensioners is, in 1884,

In the Familistère.....	18
At Guise and environs.....	24
At Laeken-lez-Bruxelles.....	1
Total.....	43

The fund for Insurance of Pensions and of the necessities of life, is over 500,000 francs : a fund which, in a few years, will produce, by interest alone, an income superior to the total expenses of that service. It will then be possible to raise the amount of indemnities, and constitute reserve funds in the other branches of the insurance sufficient to replace fines and annual assessments by fixed revenues ; in fine, it will be possible to give to these institutions such a development as to procure to each member of the association much greater security than the average *bourgeois* finds in his inherited wealth.

One provision of the insurance rules deserves particular notice, as it shows the extent of Mr. Godin's knowledge of economics and wisdom of his foresight.

The right to pensions is suspended for all pensioners who accept salaried positions outside of the association, without the authorization of the Board of Directors.

M. Godin was anxious to avoid all excuses for lowering wages, such as have occurred, for example, in Paris where pensioners of the state or of great companies have offered their services at low price, being enabled to do so because of the advantages they derived from their pensions.

Insurance against Sickness : Men.—The budget of this insurance is furnished by fines inflicted for breaking factory

rules, deductions for spoiling materials, poor execution, and by assessments of from one and a half to two per cent. of the wages of every laborer. In case these resources become insufficient, the necessary balance is furnished, half by the association and half by the mutualists. In this way the mutualists are always interested in the disbursements, since they are obliged to pay half of the excess, when the expenses exceed the resources.

This insurance pays for medical attendance, and the daily allowances to the sick, fixed at twice the amount of the monthly assessment during the first three months; to one and a half times during the second quarter; and once for the following six months.

These daily allowances are reduced about twenty-five per cent. for individuals who entered the association after forty-five years of age. The expenses of this insurance for the last three terms have amounted to 139,405 francs 90 centimes.

The insurance has paid, during the year 1883, 17,035 days of sickness to 708 patients.

Insurance against Sickness: Women.—This insurance is carried out in a similar manner, and is restricted to women residing in the Social Palace. The expense of this branch of insurance has been, for the last three years, 16,607 francs 66 centimes.

The elected committees of these two services meet twice a month to make the orders for allowances, to designate the visitors, and attend to all necessary things for the good execution of the service. The minutes of the meetings are kept in special books.

PHARMACY FUND.

The pharmacy fund is made up by an assessment of 50 centimes, paid by each person over fourteen years of age residing in the Familistère, and by a contribution from the association equal to the total assessment.

The pharmacy fund procures gratuitously the medicaments ordered by the doctors or the midwife; the baths, the utensils and linens necessary to the care of the sick; it provides also for the civil expenses of the funerals of the mutualists.

From the 1st of July, 1880, to the 30th of June, 1883, the sum of 17,009 francs has been spent for this service.

It is customary among the orthodox professors of political economy to call "Utopians" and "dreamers" those Socialists

who demand the extinction of pauperism. Such persons have always appeared to ignore the results obtained in the Familistère at Guise.

The St. Thomases of political economy are not even willing to touch and be convinced.

Yet, the mutuality, expressed in general insurances like those founded by M. Godin, deserves to be seriously considered by those who take interest in public affairs, and pretend also to speak in the name of the principles of the Revolution of '89.

To conclude this chapter, this small problem of elementary arithmetic is offered to the consideration of the members of all the academies of political economy.

In three years the divers branches of mutuality have constituted a reserve fund of 500,000 francs, while they have sustained a total expense of 264,000 francs.

If we consider the mutuality after nine other periods of three years, it will have received 7,600,000 francs, and its expenses for the same time will not have been over 2,640,000 francs.

The reserve fund will then be 5,000,000 francs, producing, at five per cent., an annual income of 250,000 francs. At that time the mutuality will have an annual income almost equivalent to the total of its actual expenses during three years, and for the benefit of all future generations.

M. Godin, in his work "*Le Gouvernement*," and in a pamphlet, "*Mutualité Nationale*," demonstrates how the benefits of this mutuality can be extended to all the French population, creating the necessary resources for a budget for that purpose through the state's inheritance of private fortunes.

The best appreciation of the mutuality of the Familistère is expressed in these few words: "It is the sanction of the Right to Life;" it does away with pauperism; it provides care for the sick at home, and thus suppresses the hospital—that monstrous error, which takes the individual from his relations or friends at the time when he needs most to be in their midst.

EDUCATION—INSTRUCTION.

The care and training of childhood in the association of the Familistère is an important work. The amount expended upon it will appear excessive to those who do not understand that human progress is in direct proportion to the care given to the culture of childhood.

Four hundred children in the Familistère are the objects of this service.

Sixteen teachers, all inhabiting the Social Palace, are occupied in the institutions of education and training.

The children are divided into ten classes.

The budget of this department for the last term was 33,000 francs. The relative importance of this sum will be best understood when considering that wealthy cities like Guise and St. Quentin, the first with 800 children, the second with 5,000, spend for instruction, the former only 13,500 francs, the latter 45,000 francs.

The education and training of the Familistère association are organized so as to unite all that can contribute to the physical and intellectual development of the child from its birth to at least its fourteenth year. Two special buildings are devoted expressly to the work. The first receives children from their birth to four years old, the second contains the school classes for children from four to fourteen years and above.

INFANT NURSERY AND POUPONNAT.

These two services are established in a pavilion connected with the central part of the palace, by a gallery ending in the hall of the edifice destined to these services.

The door of this building opens on a hall, to the right of which are two rooms, one for the preparation of food and drink for the children, and to the reception of the mothers when they bring their babies; the other for the linen, utensils, brooms, brushes, pails, basins, bath-tubs, etc., necessary to the nursery; this room contains also the little water-closets for the children.

In the extremity of the hall is the walking-room of the nursery where the babies attempt their first steps. In the middle of this vast room is a circular platform surrounded by a double balustrade; this is called the *promenade*. At all times the babies can be seen playing, creeping, rolling about in the centre, others guiding and sustaining themselves in their progress by the bars of the balustrades.

The largest among the babies walk in the room or on the balconies which surround the whole building; they play together or sit in their little arm-chairs when tired. When sleepy they are put in the little beds in contiguous rooms.

These rooms are a continuation of the walking-room, so that the ladies in charge can see all the cradles at once from all parts of the hall.

The cradles are composed of an oval frame of iron wire supported by an upright of cast iron at each end. The uprights separate to form feet, and are held firm by a transverse bar at the bottom. An iron wire, fixed to the upright at the head of the cradle, bends over it for holding the curtains in place.

The bed of the cradle is made of a piece of strong linen canvas, sewed so as to form an oval sack of the exact dimension of the iron frame. At the edge of this sack are holes to lace it to the frame.

Twenty quarts of coarse bran are put in the sack and covered by a sheet, upon which the pillow is placed, then the upper sheet and the blanket.

The bran has the property of preventing the dampness from spreading. In order to keep the bed constantly clean, it is simply necessary, each time the child is raised, to change the under sheet and take up that part of the bran agglomerated by dampness.

Fifty children in the nursery do not produce as much odor as a single one with the bedding ordinarily in use.

This bed is perfect. It unites all the requisites of hygiene and cleanliness.

The milk consumed by the children of the nursery is furnished by a dairy exclusively organized for this purpose.

Whoever visits the nursery is astonished by the happy disposition and the cleanliness of the location, as well also with the good appearance of the little ones.

For several years the nursery of the Familistère has kept children night and day, when the mothers chose to leave them, but the general rule is to give back the children to their family after the day's work is over. Each child has two cradles, completely equipped, during its nursing period ; one at the nursery in the daytime, the other at home for the night.

The nursery renders to parents and children an inestimable service.

There is no attempt to obtain from the children of the nursery any regular exercises. It is by the kindness and devotion of the ladies in charge that the following results are obtained from the little ones :

To wait their turn when eating without crying, or trying to take the portion of their comrades.

On waking, to wait the coming of the nurse without crying or fretting.

To feed themselves as do the larger ones, as soon as they can learn to do so.

To go to sleep without crying.

To stand up bravely in the *promenade*, and pass little comrades without falling or causing them to fall.

To understand that one must not hurt others nor tease them.

When able to stand up and walk, to go alone to the babies' toilet, and sit down by one's self.

To hold little comrades by the hand and take a walk with them on the balconies and the lawns.

To be kind and helpful to little comrades.

To come back from home in good order to the nursery.

Here are the few points to be obtained from children of that age, without constraint, but by kindness, benevolence, and gentleness.

The other part of the pavilion destined to the older babies is divided into two large halls ; the first is used for the children's reception, the second one is divided into two parts, one used for promenade and physical exercises, which should be very frequent for young children. The second room has its walls decorated with pictures representing objects of general use, animals, plants, etc., all things that the child must know first ; it is furnished with little desks and seats.

The pupils of that class are from two to three and a half years old.

A teacher and nurse, patient, devoted, and intelligent, presides at their exercises ; she is careful to draw their attention to all objects used for the teaching of *things* ; she teaches them how to observe, to designate objects, to recognize them, and remember their names ; she indicates the most general use of them, and all that children of that age can appreciate.

Under her direction the babies (*poupons*) speak, count, sing, dance, and march by groups, etc. In the fine season they pass most of their time at play on the lawns of the park.

This division, the *Pouponnat*, is open during working hours. The parents come and take their children at meal-time, and bring them back afterward.

M. Godin considers the good working of these two departments as of the greatest importance, and Madame Roger, who has superintended them for twenty years, has given a noble example of devotion and every quality demanded by her delicate mission.

SCHOOLS.

The buildings for the *Bambinat*, the schools, and for the theatre, face the central quadrangle of the Familistère, about ninety yards from it.

The middle building contains the theatre, conference, and lecture rooms.

The wings, on each side of the theatre, contain the maternal school or kindergarten and the primary school.

The children coming from the babies' room (*Pouponnat*) three and a half years old, enter the first class of the maternal school or kindergarten, and remain there until they are five.

Above this division is the highest maternal class for children from five to six and a half years old.

The teaching is so divided and graduated in the Social Palace that the maternal classes are really the first division of the primary instruction. The pupils coming from the highest maternal class, to the number of about twenty-five annually, all know how to read fluently, possess exact notions of the first principles of arithmetic, begin to write, to draw, and possess a great deal of useful information.

Promotions from one class to another take place after examination. No scholar is admitted to a course if not able to follow its lessons.

Above the maternal classes the teaching comprises five classes, in which the children, girls and boys, are distributed according to their age and attainment. The latest official programmes for the public primary schools are strictly applied.

The elementary course comprises two classes, one of girls and boys from six and a half to eight years old, the other of girls and boys from eight to nine years old. Then come two classes of the middle course, one for children from eight to ten years old, the other for children from ten to twelve years old; then the superior course, where girls and boys who are most distinguished in intelligence are prepared for winning the certificate of studies. The children of this class are from twelve to thirteen years of age. Last year fifteen pupils, seven girls and eight boys, obtained the certificate.

Above the superior course is the completing course for pupils who have received the certificate and wish to continue their studies. This course comprises pupils from thirteen to fifteen or sixteen.

Each class has its teacher, male or female, and besides these

there are two special teachers, employees from the factory, one teaching mechanical drawing, the other geometry.

Twice a week the young girls receive lessons in sewing, while the boys learn linear drawing.

Music, singing, gymnastics, are taught in the Familistère.

Twice a week, out of school hours, special courses of physics and chemistry take place, with practical illustrations. The most advanced scholars, also the apprentices of the factory, and all the inhabitants of the Familistère, have the right to attend these courses. A large number is always present.

When examining closely all that is done for primary instruction in the Social Palace of Guise, it can be said that not any town, not even Paris, has done for the education of children what is accomplished in that association.

The attendance of all the children from 8 to 9 A.M., from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., and from 3 to 6 P.M. is obligatory.

After each hour of work, the classes are interrupted for ten minutes' recreation. This is employed in quick and double-quick time marches, with accompaniment of singing and gymnastic exercises.

The emulation of the pupils is excited and kept up by rewards, distributed with due solemnity each month, and by posting the names of the most deserving pupils in the "Order of the Day" on the bulletin board in the grand court.

A library containing 3,000 volumes is at the disposition of the inhabitants of the Familistère. They can come and read there, or take books to read at home.

SERVICES OF SUPPLY.

These services have points in common with partial associations, known as co-operative societies of consumption, which make the purchasers participate directly in the profits. They furnish to the inhabitants of the Social Palace all the ordinary advantages of co-operative societies, without requiring from them an advance from the capital individually economized; they impose no contribution or assessment from salaries or wages.

In the association of the Familistère the co-operation is not a private association; it is a part, a member, a branch of the general association, having for specialty the sale of merchandise. It is simply a public service of the association, managed by a steward (*Econome*) and assistants—the whole under the supervision and control of the Council of the Familistère.

The capital of the stock in stores and other utilities indispensable to the working of the service, is furnished by the collective capital of the association.

The merchandise is sold from schedules of prices fixed by the decisions of the Council of the Familistère.

The profits realized from sales are shared between the buyers and the association ; the latter adds its share to those of the manufactory, and the total is distributed as has been indicated in the chapter on Participation.

The dividends to buyers is made from a book upon which are entered all their purchases at the time the goods are delivered. This method has been established with the view to accustom the members of the association to keep account of their ordinary expenses and to engage them not to provide themselves outside.

No rules oblige the inhabitants of the Social Palace to purchase in the stores of the association, Liberty being the fundamental principle of the institution.

The supply service operates with a capital of about 100,000 francs. Bread, wines, spirits, meat, *charcuterie* (sausage, head-cheese—everything made from pork), groceries, wood and coal, ready-made clothing, boots and shoes, fancy goods, dry goods, and all things necessary to families, can be found in the stores of the Familistère.

The profit that the association realizes by these sales about equals the income from the rental of the apartments of the Social Palace ; but, for the population, they offer the double advantage of providing remunerative salaries to a certain number of members of the association, particularly women and young girls.

PUBLIC SERVICES.

Mention has already been made of some of the services of the association ; those of supplies, mutual insurances, education and instruction. There are others to be mentioned in a few words.

The care of individual lodgings is strictly left to the charge of families. Each one has his own home, and the administration does not interfere in the interior domicile. But out of the lodgings proper, the balconies, the staircases, the courts, the closets, the refuse rooms, etc., in fine, all things of common use, are kept in a permanent state of cleanliness by public functionaries. They are visited and cleaned as many times a day

as is necessary, so that the hygienic conditions should be perfect in the Social Palace.

The maintenance of cleanliness is intrusted to employees, women for the most part, who are remunerated by the administration and devote themselves thus to profitable labor outside of their own home duties.

The management of all the services of the unitary home is intrusted to the steward, who is the executor of the decisions of the Council of the Familistère.

Each quadrangle of the palace is provided on each story with fountains, where families supply themselves with water. The average consumption is over five gallons to each inhabitant. The water is furnished by an artesian well.

A special building containing the laundries is provided with all the conveniences for the cleaning of clothes ; it is a model establishment. Hot water is furnished by the condensed steam of the factory engines.

Another part of the waste steam warms the swimming-baths of constantly running water. This bath has a surface sixty yards square. Adults and children can bathe here at any time of the day ; it is provided with a wooden bottom which can be lowered to a depth of over eight feet, and raised to the surface of the water, in order to give to the bathers the depth of water they prefer. Thus the smaller children can disport themselves in perfect safety. It is the school of natation of the children.

Ordinary bath-rooms are disposed in a locality attached to the laundry.

The Social Palace passages, corridors, and courts are lighted all night with gas.

Precautions against fire are well organized. A night watchman makes every hour a general round of inspection from cellar to garret and through all parts of the factory. A body of firemen, composed of volunteers from the members of the association, the most apt to this duty, is at all times ready to operate the engine at the first alarm.

This fire brigade, in uniform, takes charge of the internal order and preservation of the buildings on days of festival or of public gathering.

Ordinarily, order and security necessitate no other inspection than that of the steward. The entrances to the Social Palace courts have no doors ; in winter only, spring doors without locks are used in order to maintain a mild temperature in the interior courts covered with glass roofs. It is possible to go in and out of the palace at any time of the day

and night. Never are any misdeeds committed. The smallest child can push open the doors.

Porters and *concierges* are unknown in the Familistère.

Large bulletin boards at the entrances of the palace contain the names of the residents and the number of their lodgings.

In the principal court are bulletins for advertisements ; some are specially assigned to the mention of the most deserving scholars, others to divers advertisements.

The public services of the Familistère employ no less than 64 persons.

FESTIVALS AND AMUSEMENTS.

Independently of the lawns and gardens surrounding the Social Palace, the association possesses a garden where useful trees are cultivated, as also all ornamental shrubs and plants.

The theatrical, choral, and musical societies are the grand auxiliaries to the fund of relaxations and diversions.

The association celebrates each year a certain number of festivals with exceptional solemnity, notably those of Labor and Childhood.

The illustration elsewhere presents the aspect of the grand court on the occasion of one of the public festivals organized by the association.

The Familistère possesses a well-equipped theatre, in which the theatrical societies may organize representations when they choose.

During the winter, theatrical companies come twice a month to perform the best pieces of their repertory.

An external view of the theatre is shown in the cut representing the schools. It is the middle building. The theatre is provided with all ordinary appurtenances, green-room, concert-hall, lecture-room, etc.

There exist, moreover, in the association, divers societies, organized according to the aspirations of those who desire to instruct themselves outside of the general provisions for education.

INDUSTRY.

The association devotes itself to the manufacture of heating apparatus, house furnishing and kitchen wares in enamelled iron, and articles in cast-iron.

The motive power of the various steam-engines is estimated at 250 steam horse power (*Chevaux vapeur*).

The tools and models are the result of 180 patents, most of them obtained by M. Godin.

The workshops are organized in perfect condition ; they cover an area of about twelve acres. There are 835 rods of rails for the interior circulation of raw material or goods in the course of manufacture or already finished.

M. Godin, by the invention of a machine for moulding, has created an engine which surprises all by its dimensions and the work it accomplishes.

It is not intended here to give a complete description of the factories ; an enumeration of the divers workshops will be sufficient ; they may be classified in seven large categories :

1. Models : modelling, zinc foundry, adjusting.
2. Foundries : moulding, casting, scraping.
3. Adjusting : blacking, packing, storing.
4. Enamelling : grounding, decorating, firing.
5. Material for the manufacture of moulds : sand mills, charcoal mills, storage of sand.
6. Secondary industries : brass foundry, sheet-iron works, forging, machine shops, fire-proof pottery.
7. Annexed industries : harness making and repairing for forty horses, wheelwrighting, joining, packing-case making, saw-mill, carpentering, masonry, brickyard, locksmithing, lime-kilns, sand quarry.

CAPITAL AT THE SERVICE OF LABOR.

It is interesting to know how M. Godin was able to constitute a powerful association in spite of the legislation upon association, which may be called legislation *against* association.

The realization of the Familistère of Guise is a proof that good will can overcome bad laws, and that manufacturers who pretend to be waiting for favorable laws to be passed before associating their employees with them in business, appear to be only decided to do nothing in behalf of their workmen.

It has been said here that M. Godin had established a dividend account in favor of his most deserving employees previous to legally constituting the association of the Familistère.

At the time of constituting definitively the association this account of dividends amounted to 172,000 francs.

M. Godin was able, therefore, to form a contract of association with the possessors of that stock account, who had thus formed the first nucleus of a partnership. Then he became himself the limited partner of the association, under the express condition that the clauses of the partnership agreement should make it obligatory for all the partners to obey the statutes of the Familistère.

Thus constituted, the society of the Familistère escapes all embarrassments coming from legislation against associations. It is governed by an agreement which can be revised only by the consent of the parties to it ; and as these parties, by the terms of the partnership, have provided for this case of revision, by stipulating, moreover, that dissolution cannot take place without the unanimous consent of all the partners, it follows from these provisions, that the members are bound in a precise manner, and that they have only (they and their heirs) to conform themselves to the terms of a perfectly defined contract, the duration of which is fixed to the year 1979.

The conditions of the limited partnership oblige M. Godin to allow his partners the enjoyment, during the existence of the association, of the factory, the material, the merchandise, the commercial fund, the capital in bank, accounts current, real estate, etc., the whole valued at 4,600,000 francs.

The actual duration of the partnership being limited to that of the association, nothing can cause its cessation before it ; for death no more interrupts a limited partnership than it frees parties to a lease or from a mortgage, unless expressly provided otherwise, which is not the case in the association of the Familistère.

And as it has been said, a few years are only necessary for the partners to have completely refunded their limited partner.

Such is what M. Godin has accomplished. It is an evident proof of the facility of the transition of society, easily and without inconvenience, from the system of wages to that of association.

The reader of this rapid exposition of so grand a realization, unique in the world, will be led to inquire how so powerful a creation, organized by a superior man, has not attracted upon itself and its founder the attention of the nation, at least that of the laboring classes.

If M. Godin had only been a lawyer, or a second-rate poet, using his fortune to entertain the public with his personality, he might be to-day one of the most honored men of France. But he has worked instead of talked. The man who has written the book "*Le Gouvernement*" has had the simplicity to invent a mode of constructing and managing cradles for the health and comfort of his partners' children. This is not enough to be esteemed an unusually good French citizen.

Then M. Godin thought that the mission of the great economists of the "College of France," and of the academies, was to state the truth when it was demonstrated, and to employ all means to make its teachings prevail. But all have kept on talking vaguely, as before the existence of the Familistère, of mutuality, participation, amelioration of the laboring classes, etc.—just enough to cause the masses to believe that these grave questions were being seriously considered by them. They have never ceased to exaggerate the incalculable and material difficulties in the way of that amelioration. As if the Familistère de Guise was not a fact giving exactly the measure of the wants to be satisfied, and one of the most efficacious means to attain the object, progressively, taking every interest into account.

Those who deny the existence of the social question have nothing to do with this work, nor this with them.

Others who believe in the equal right of all citizens to Life, and in the necessity of seeking a social reorganization respecting this right, are adjured to propagate the precepts presented by the admirable creation of the Familistère of Guise.

March 30, 1884.

